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ABSTRACT

Attempting to find empirical evidence to support an hypothesis on the social stratification system in Robeson County, North Carolina, the study theorized that there exists a caste system in which the Lumbee Indians have a status between the dominant whites and subordinate Negro groups. The Lumbees and their relationship to these other groups were examined. Data were gleaned from 2 regional studies--a survey of 3 North Carolina counties (Ashe, Anson, and Robeson), and a resurvey thereof. These counties were drawn according to an area probability sampling design. Data from 69 households in Robeson County were analyzed using chi-square test of significance. Results indicated that in most instances the Lumbee Indians' family adjustment resembles that of the Negroes or the dominant whites. American Indians in Robeson County seemed to be worse off economically than whites. The traditional bi-racial (white-nonwhite) caste system was evidently more adequate in explaining the living adjustment patterns of these groups than the previous tri-ethnic group caste system, which does not allow for the attitude differences indicated by this study. (Author/FF)

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COMPARATIVE APPROACH TO THE STUDY OF A WHITE-INDIAN-NEGRO CASTE SYSTEM IN ROBESON COUNTY, NORTH CAROLINA

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by

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A thesis submitted to the Graduate Faculty of
North Carolina State University at Raleigh
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DEPARTMENT OF SOCIOLOGY AND ANTHROPOLOGY

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ABSTRACT

TEMPLE, DENNIS M. Comparative Approach to the Study of a White-Indian-Negro Caste System in Robeson County, North Carolina. (Under the direction of GLENN C. Mc CANN).

The purpose of this Research is to analyze selected potentials and levels of family adjustment in an effort to find support for the hypothesis that there exists in Robeson County, North Carolina a caste system in which the Lumbee Indians of that county, have a status between the dominant whites and the subordinate Negro group. An attempt is made to discuss the Lumbees and to show their relationship to these other groups in the area.

The data for this study were gleaned from available data from two regional studies which included a survey of three North Carolina counties (Ashe, Anson, and Robeson), and a resurvey thereof. These counties were drawn according to an area probability sampling design.

Data from sixty-nine households in the open country portion of Robeson County, North Carolina were analyzed using chi-square test of significance.

It was found that in most instances the Lumbee Indians' family adjustment resembles that of the Negroes or the whites. The data suggest that Indians in Robeson County are worse off than whites with respect to general economic aspects. The traditional bi-racial (white-nonwhite) caste

system is evidently more adequate in explaining the adjustment patterns of these groups to their various life circumstances than is the previously hypothesized tri-ethnic group caste system which does not allow for the kinds of attitude differences indicated by the results of this study.

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INTRODUCTION

The past several decades have proven to be a period of social turmoil in both the developed and the developing countries. This social struggle has focused, in the United States, and many other countries, on social and economic factors related to race. More specifically this social movement, if it may be called this, has centered on the maintenance of the whites of a superior status and social position over the nonwhite races, and the determination of the nonwhite races to end this superiority and gain social equality and equal economic and educational opportunity. It has only been in the last several years that the nonwhite races, mostly Negroes, have questioned a basic premise grounded in the idea of white supremacy, namely the premise that nonwhites should conform to white ideals and assimilate into white culture. Gordon states that:

> It is quite likely that 'Anglo-Conformity' in its more moderate aspects, however explicit its formulation, has been the most prevalent ideology of assimilation goals in America throughout the nation's history (Gordon, 1967, p. 396).

Regardless of whether nonwhites conform to white cultural ideals, the success of the "movement" will depend on the breakdown of the color line which has helped maintain the dominant position of the whites. In the South this color line has been maintained by a system of caste relations necessitated by direct white-Negro social confrontation in everyday life. This caste system has historically

been a part of our system of social stratification. It has been suggested by van den Berghe that race may be viewed as a special case of insidious status differentiation or as special criterion of stratification. Van den Berghe goes on to say that a nearly impermeable caste system may occur more easily when there is racial stratification than when there is ethnic stratification. He states that:

> Only when group differences in physical traits are considered a determinant of social behavior and moral or intellectual qualities can we properly speak of racism (van den Berghe, 1967, p. 23).

These points are mentioned here to indicate that social differences may in some cases lead to the development of a caste system which is maintained to perpetuate differences, among the races, in the status level which may be achieved by any given individual. Racial differences have long been a part of the American stratification system, and the caste system which has developed does not lend itself to social change. Attitudes and beliefs which relate to real or perceived racial differences are not easily changed either. Attitudes and beliefs help to perpetuate the caste system and this system in turn effects attitudes of various racial members toward members of other racial groups. Hence the "movement" has been very slow to affect changes in society, to change the caste system, and to break down the color line which has helped to maintain status inequalities among racial groups.

Another aspect of this movement toward equality is the attempt on the part of the Federal Government, and local governments to reduce the amount of poverty in both rural and urban areas. In the rural areas of the South an attempt is being made to develop and grow, to maximize social overhead capital as well as economic capital, and to make life meaningful and productive for the people in the rural regions (Conference on Area Development, 1962).

These economic developments must be taken into consideration when studying caste system relations in the South because the social and economic condition of the people, and their attitudes and expectations do not exist apart from the economic changes which occur in the region, or for that matter those social and economic changes which occur on a nationwide basis.

This paper deals with a particular social stratification system in a largely rural North Carolina County. The major purpose of this work is to try to find empirical evidence to support an hypothesis concerning the social stratification system in Robeson County, North Carolina. The hypothesis is that there exists in Robeson County a social stratification which can be described as a hierarchal caste system. This caste system is alleged to be one in which the Lumbee Indians occupy a position between the dominant whites and the subordinate Negroes. Various indicators of family adjustment of rural whites, Indians and Negroes, in Robeson County,

will be studied in order to find evidence to support this hypothesis. The premise is that the degree of adjustment of these three subgroups relative to each other should give evidence of the nature of any caste system operating in this area. This premise will be further clarified in the theoretical orientation section of this paper.

It is expected that a study which focuses on the social and economic relationships among these three subgroups, will produce a better understanding of their system of social stratification. Such a study should not only aid in understanding the social relations in this geographic area but also build on existing theory concerning caste system relations. The study will describe a somewhat unique social situation which is different and more complex than the more usual Negro-white caste system which is found in this country. Understanding the social stratification system of this group of people may eventually aid researchers in trying to improve the general socioeconomic conditions in this and similar rural areas.

A number of variables[1] relating to family adjustment will be analyzed in a later section of this paper. Before comparing the three subgroups on their level of family adjustment some background information should be presented, including a discussion of various theoretical implications

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[1]See the "methods" section of this paper for a discussion of these family adjustment variables.

of the hypothesis about caste system relations, and a review of the literature on these subgroups especially the Lumbees, upon whom this study focuses. It will also be a great help to understand some things about the area where these groups live. Therefore a brief description of Robeson County has been included too.

Throughout this study certain key concepts have been used. Before going on to the discussion of the problem it is important to define these terms so as to minimize the confusion about what these concepts mean or how they are being used in this study.

Key Concepts and Terms

The following definitions are included in order to clarify both the discussion on the Lumbee Indians in relation to the other ethnic groups, and the theoretical orientation of the paper.

Ethnic group. "An ethnic group consists of those who conceive of themselves as being alike by virtue of their common ancestry, real or fictitious, and who are so regarded by others" (Shibutani and Kwan, 1965).

Ethnicity. Ethnic classification or affiliation.

Caste society. "A population with a common general culture, divided by social barriers into endogamous units, each of which possesses cultural specialties. In the United States, the white race which enforces social separatism and

the Negroes who accommodate by following the codes and rituals of differential behavior" (Fairchild, 1965).

Color line. "The color line is another form of social stratification . . ." "An examination of the situation to which the term 'color line' is applied suggests that is an invisible wall, consisting of a set of common understandings concerning proper conduct" (Shibutani and Kwan, 1965).

Accommodation. "The process in which interacting groups modify their organization, role, or status to conform to the requirements set up by the situation or by the inclusive social unit" (Fairchild, 1965).

Assimilation. "A process whereby groups with diverse ways of thinking, feeling, and acting become fused together in a social unity and a common culture" (Vander Zanden, 1966).

Adjustment. "Adjustment is a dynamic state in which the actors in a given meaningful interaction system are able to live in relation to other members of their significant membership groups, satisfying their basic needs, fulfilling the responsibilities of their major roles, and, realizing the value ends of the system while, maintaining the identity and integrity of the actor's individual selves" (Mangalam, 1962).[2]

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[2]Mangalam, V. V., Harry K. Schwarzweller and James S. Brown, 1962, A reconsideration of the notion of adjustment (mimeographed paper). Kentucky Agricultural Experiment Station, Lexington Kentucky. 14-15.

THEORY AND LITERATURE REVIEW

The notion of a caste system is related to Park's warnings on the contracts which occur among racial and ethnic groups. His writings deal not only with contact but also with the competition, accommodation and assimilation which may occur when such groups interact over time (Shibutani and Kwan, 1965, p. 118-122).

These ideas are relevant to the topic at hand. They may be stated as follows. During the process of group migration or movement, differing racial or ethnic groups come into contact with one another. When this contact happens there are various ways that the groups can interact with one another. For example there could be open conflict or warfare. Or competition might develop between such groups, with each group trying to maintain its integrity. Or one group may try to accommodate itself to the values, beliefs, or needs of the other group. Two groups might try to accommodate to each other. Perhaps several groups may be involved in this type of interaction. Eventually, in the event of coexistence of two or more groups in a given location, one group may assimilate the other.

The several ethnic groups under consideration, namely the whites and blacks and the Lumbee Indians of Robeson County and a small group known as the Smillings, may be studied using the ideas outlined above. These groups have coexisted in the same region for many years. During this

time there have been instances of overt conflict, especially between whites and Lumbees. However it is obvious that none of the three major ethnic groups (Whites, Blacks and Lumbees) has been completely assimilated. Since there has been little overt conflict and no complete assimilation, the alternatives left, under Park's framework, are competition, and/or accommodation. This is not to say that these possibilities are mutually exclusive. Even though the dominant characteristics of the relations among these groups may be competition and accommodation there may also be some degree of assimilation. Whether this occurs would depend on the historical development of the intergroup relations among these groups. The whites for example are the dominant group in the region, as is usual in this country, and have been since they entered the region. These dominant whites have participated in the development of a system of social stratification. The question is whether this stratification system is a caste system. If this is the case then there may exist a color line between the whites and nonwhites which is maintained to prevent the assimilation of the nonwhites into the white group. This would be for the purpose of keeping the nonwhites in a subordinate position, thus maintaining the dominance of the whites and their integrity as a group.

The caste system may be considered a societal mechanism utilized by a dominant group to reduce or eliminate the competition between itself and the subordinate group or

groups. If this mechanism of control is accepted by the subordinate group the danger of overt conflict is reduced as is the likelihood of assimilation. The latter is dependent upon the ease with which members of the various groups, within the caste system, can cross the color line, and also upon the desirability of doing so. If the castes are arranged in a hierarchy, then it will be desirable to move into the next higher caste, but this will be difficult. Assimilation upward will be a slow and limited process leaving the dominant group in the position of being free to either accept or not accept the people of the subordinate group, thus eliminating any real competition within the system. This is how the dominant group maintains its integrity. Conversely, a striving for betterment and a maximization of gain on the part of the subordinate group would be indicative of non-acceptance of the definitions imposed by the dominant group. Further, it would mean the subordinate group is trying to compete against the higher status group and trying to change the social system.

In the tri-ethnic case under study these matters become even more complicated because there is perhaps more than one color line involved. There are many statuses with many possible relationships among the three groups. The tri-ethnic caste system differs from the usual bi-racial caste system of the South, in that there is a possibility of a third caste (the Lumbees) located somewhere in the

stratification system. The question is, just where is this caste located?

Recalling the hypothesis that there is a hierarchy of castes with the Lumbees occupying an intermediate status between the whites and blacks, a parallel can be drawn between the bi-racial and the tri-ethnic caste systems. The bi-racial system is one in which greater status and more prestige is awarded to those having light skin color. The lighter the skin color the higher the status. It has been hypothesized that the same holds true for the tri-ethnic system. Since the black-white system is based in part on skin color, it is only a logical extension to assume that the tri-ethnic system is an elaboration of the more usual stratification system.

This is not the first time this assertion has been made. Johnson pointed out that the Lumbees, "Indians by courtesy," had a status half-way between whites and blacks for two reasons:

1. Whites were determined that Indians would not be classified as whites, and
2. The Indians were determined not to be classified as Negroes (Johnson, 1939, p. 516).

This is an especially unusual situation. Of course it has not been unusual, historically, for whites to try to maintain the color line so that nonwhites could not "pass for white" and be granted equal status with whites. What is unusual, in the case of the Lumbees, is that they are an ethnic group, which the whites tried to label as Negro, but

which had an alternative. This viable alternative was to insist that they were Indians. They did not have to accept the verdict of the whites because they had an historical identity and legends to fall back upon--the identity of being Indians. They were obviously not whites, but they were certainly not Negroes either. They were Lumbee Indians. And they went to great lengths to maintain that identity as will be indicated in the "background" section of this paper.

Another unusual aspect of this social stratification system is that the North Carolina Legislature actually allowed the Indians to decide who would be considered a Lumbee, whereas Negroes have never been permitted to decide who is a Negro. One possible explanation for such liberty relates back to the white's maintenance of the black-white color line. This was the real distinction the white people may have wished to maintain. The Lumbees were considered by whites to be, officially, people of "mixed blood." Any further distinctions, after white-black, may have been permitted on the following grounds. The Lumbees, as nonwhites, were merely asking to be considered Indian and not white. Permitting this distinction did not hurt the integrity of the white race because the Lumbees were not attempting to cross the white-black color line. Therefore the Lumbees were allowed (although reluctantly) to perpetuate their unique ethnic group--to maintain their Indian identity. Such an interpretation of historical events is supportive of

the major hypothesis. The Lumbees are a distinct ethnic group between the statuses of the whites and the blacks, according to this interpretation.

However, Johnson makes one further distinction in his essay. He delineates three sub-classes, among the Lumbees,[3] discernable on the basis of skin shade, social and economic status:

1. The first is of predominantly Negro and Indian ancestry and is the lowest class both socially and economically. This class is slowly disintegrating and is being absorbed into the Negro group.

2. The second sub-class is predominantly white and Indian and is the highest class socially and economically. This class is being absorbed into the white group.

3. The third group is most typically Indian and is suspended between the first two sub-classes socially and economically (Johnson, 1939, pp. 517-520).

These first two groups are being assimilated into the white and black castes, leaving the third group as a more distinct Indian caste according to Johnson. These Indians can be considered marginal in the sense that they fit into neither the white nor Negro castes and must somehow maintain their separate identity. In Park's terms these Indians must either accommodate to the remaining castes in the stratification system or must compete, or engage in some combination of these except in those rare cases of open conflict.

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[3]These sub-classes are not castes in themselves but are said to be subdivisions within the Indian caste.

Johnson's hypotheses indicate a sort of filtering out process in which "dark" Indians and Negroes mix and are being called Negro, white "light" Indians and whites are mixing and are being called white, i.e., passing for white. This process leaves a more homogeneous-looking group who are defined as Lumbees. According to Johnson's hypotheses it would be the latter group which would perpetuate the Lumbees as a separate caste. It is this caste that makes this particular stratification system an exception to the traditional bi-racial system, thus making the Lumbees worthy of study.

It would be helpful in understanding caste system relations to do a study focusing on the psycho-dynamics of such a tri-ethnic stratification system, and to study the self-concepts of the people in the aforementioned sub-classes. Unfortunately the characteristics of the data available for research purposes do not permit a delineation of the three hypothesized sub-classes, since the data were collected on the basis of only three groupings--whites, Indians, and Negroes. However, examination of these data may yield results supportive of the basic hypothesis concerning the intermediate status of the Lumbees. This means that hereafter, references to the Lumbees will be to the overall group and not to the hypothesized subgroupings, though these may be kept in mind.

According to Johnson (Johnson, 1939), the Lumbees are of mixed ancestry, and are not proud of their Negro

ancestry. To a degree, in our society, there is a stigma attached to having Negro ancestry ("Negro blood") and the Lumbees seem to adhere to this value. Furthermore, the Negro ancestry of many, if not all, Lumbees, is evidenced in the physical appearance of many of those people who are called Lumbee. One of the major themes in Johnson's paper was that the light colored Lumbees somehow blamed the darker ones because the latter show Negroid physical traits and tend to perpetuate in people's minds the historical association between the Lumbees and Negroes. This association and the Lumbee's wish to negate it will be expanded in the background information section, but this tendency has evidently existed for many years. In fact the group known as the Smillings were denied entry to Lumbee schools out of fear that they were of Negro ancestry (see p. 22).

On the other hand, Johnson felt that the light Lumbees were envied by the dark ones due to their social position within the caste system. It was therefore suggested that a lot of tension existed in this community among the Lumbees as well as among the ethnic groups. It was also suggested that many Lumbees felt personal frustration in such a stratification system, due in part to the complexity and lack of definitions as compared to the more usual black-white caste system. Johnson speculated that the Lumbees were powerless to change the system because of the whites having such control, but could not just give up because

they might lose their Indian identity and merge into the Negro caste. Except for unusual instances of court conflict the Lumbees could not express their embitterment toward the whites and so their relations would be characterized by restraint so as not to lose what they have.

Of course these conjectures about the dynamics of intergroup relations in Robeson County have never been verified. What can be done at this time is to look at various subjective and objective social and economic indicators in an effort to compare these three groups in order to see if any support can be found for these postulates. Much of the literature on race relations in America portrays the South as a bi-racial caste system in which the whites are dominant, while nonwhites are submissive and portrayed in stereotyped ways (see Shibutani and Kwan, p. 257; Rose, pp. 189 and 224, and van den Berghe, pp. 78-83, 88 and 89). Can this accepted theory of stratification and caste systems be expanded to include the tri-ethnic system which exists in Robeson County? This community is atypical to a degree but probably not so much so that a new theory of ethnic relations will have to be devised to explain the interactions occurring there. Johnson assumed that the Lumbees were occupying a status somewhere between the whites and Negroes. Can this assumption be lent empirical support?

What is proposed here is to use the aforementioned available data in an analysis aimed at empirically validating the hypothesis that the tri-ethnic caste system exists,

and that it functions in a manner similar to that outlined above. An attempt will also be made to assess the general attitudes and adjustment of these ethnic groups. This will be done to find whether the Lumbees accept their intermediate status (if intermediary) passively. In other words do they accommodate themselves to the dominant whites completely, or do they strive to better themselves and maximize their gains relative to other groups? This assessment will be made because the data permit such an analysis and because knowing something about the attitudes of the Lumbees may aid in understanding the nature of the stratification system.

Before describing the methods used in this analysis it will be necessary to give some background information as to the history of the Lumbees and other ethnic groups in the area, and to try to show why some of these assertions, about their caste relations, have been made.

BACKGROUND INFORMATION

The Lumbee Indians

According to Lowrey (1960, pp. 7-9), the Lumbee Indians are descendants of Sir Walter Raleigh's "lost colony" of Roanoke Island, North Carolina. This colony was established in the late fifteen hundreds by the English, and contact was lost with the settlers in 1587. It has been asserted that the remnants of this colony intermarried with local Indians and later were forced to flee into the swamps, where they became isolated in what is today known as the Lumber River swamps of Robeson County, North Carolina. All attempts to locate these colonists failed. The Lumbee Indians claim to have descended from these settlers and the coastal Indians with whom they married. Parts of their legend apparently have been corroborated.

During the 1730's, settlers moving into the Cape Fear River and Lumber River areas found a group of Indians unlike any they had encountered. They had European customs rather than Indian ones, lived in regular houses, kept gardens, and spoke English in a way it had not been spoken in one hundred fifty years. Furthermore, these Lumbees maintained that they had come from a colony of whites who had married Indians and come inland to the swamps. These Indians used surnames, including forty-five of the original ninety surnames included in the log of the lost colony (Lowrey, 1960, pp. 15-20).

An Indian agent named Mc Pherson investigated these Indians who called themselves Croatans at that time. He wrote a report to the Indian Bureau in 1915 concerning these and other Indians. This work is now the standard reference on the Lumbees. His conclusion, based on his investigation of their history, was that the legend about their descent from the lost colony was true and that the Lumbees had been living along the Lumber River for a period of two hundred to three hundred years (Mc Pherson, ,1915).

The relationship between the Lumbees and white settlers between the 1730's and 1830's was evidently a peaceful and uneventful one since little has been written about the Lumbees during this one hundred year period. However, the period from 1835 to around 1875 is a very colorful one in Lumbee history. In 1835 the Lumbees were disenfranchised by the whites. They lost their right to vote, were not allowed to bear arms, and were not allowed to worship in groups. There seems to be no written record of why this disenfranchisement occurred. The North Carolina Legislature deemed them "free persons of color," i.e., they were to be considered free but Negro. (Mc Pherson, 1915, pp. 25-31). This must have been a great loss of social prestige to the Lumbees and time has proven that they did not accept this judgment. Had they done so, they might have eventually been assimilated into the Negro caste and there would be no Lumbee Indians. But they went to great lengths to insure that this assimilation did not occur.

This new classification of the Lumbees as Negroes had certain ramifications with respect to their social relations with whites. Mc Pherson noted that after their disenfranchisement the Lumbees were unable to attend white schools or churches, and were supposed to be educated in Negro schools. However, the Lumbees did not accept this. Perhaps the Lumbees had been using the whites as a reference group since the Lumbees had owned slaves, just as the whites had done. Certainly the Lumbees disliked Negroes enough to not want to be classified as persons of color albeit free ones. Whether or not this prejudice against Negroes came before or after their disenfranchisement is unclear since Mc Pherson makes no statement concerning this point. For some time, they preferred no education to education in Negro schools. After the Civil War the Lumbees began subscription schools which they themselves ran. About this time they organized their own churches (Lowrey, 1960, pp. 24-28), so that a tri-school system and a tri-religious system emerged. These separate facilities must have served to strengthen the tri-ethnic caste system of social relations which began to develop. In effect the whites had been able politically to redefine the Lumbees and thus segregate themselves away from the Lumbees. The Lumbee, not accepting their new classification, had segregated themselves away from the Negroes and the system of social relations had shifted from a bi-racial basis to a tri-ethnic one.

During these ante-bellum and Civil War days, the social interaction among whites, Indians and Negroes was characterized by strained relations. Many incidents occurred, mostly due to white discrimination against Indians and Negroes. Some of these incidents, as indicated in the literature, are mentioned later in the text. It is of interest that the Lumbees did not migrate to another locale in order to avoid being classified as Negroes. Of course any Lumbee who left the area might immediately be classified as Negro, and perhaps it was to their advantage to remain in the area. This way they could maintain their group identity and its advantageous caste position, if any, even if this meant putting up with white discrimination.

In spite of all of these events, relating back to their disenfranchisement, the Lumbees were unknown to the Indian Office in Washington, D.C. as late as 1888 according to one of their agents (Mc Pherson, 1915, p. 17). They had petitioned Congress for funds to run their schools but had received none. However the North Carolina Legislature granted them a separate school system wherein many Lumbees received their first formal education.

The Lumbees also had difficulties in establishing a label by which they should be known:

> In 1885 the North Carolina Legislature gave the Indians in Robeson County the name Croatan and by implication recognized their proud legends, but the name soon went sour. For the first time outsiders had a term they could apply to these hitherto nameless people; they shortened to 'Cro' and pronounced it with a sneer, and before long

> the term became an epithet. The group then decided that 'Croatan' was not its true name, and in 1911 the legislature was persuaded to call them 'Indians of Robeson County.' When someone suggested that these people were really Cherokee, the group again asked for legislative help. In 1913, over the protests of the Eastern Cherokee of the Great Smokey Mountains, they were legally renamed the Cherokee Indians of Robeson County. Since no one called them Cherokee, however, some of their intellectuals later contended that they really originated from the Sioux. The extent to which such newly-formed groups struggle over their name gives some indication of the importance of such labels (Shibutani and Kwan, 1965, p. 218).

Why would the Lumbees feel such a strong need to establish their group identity? From what is recorded in the literature on these people this strong sense of group identity seems to have emerged after (and perhaps as a result of) their disenfranchisement, and the continued discrimination by whites, including their classification of the Lumbees as Negroes.

In 1887 the Lumbees were given their first normal school at Pembroke, North Carolina. The purpose of this institution was to train teachers for Lumbee schools. Pembroke, now the center of Lumbee activity, used to be called "Skuffletown" and was the hideout of the legendary Henry Berry Lowrey in the early 1870's. Lowrey was a renegade Lumbee who terrorized and killed whites during and after the Civil War. His exploits are the subject of a work by one of his descendents (Lowrey, 1960).

In 1889 an attempt was made by the Lumbees to have Negroes and mulattoes barred from Indian schools. As before, the Carolina Legislature aided them in stressing their group identity:

> Faced with the possibility that all nonwhite people would be placed into a single category and treated as Negroes, the group tried to escape that stigma by stressing its Indian ancestry. In 1885 they were legally declared a separate race . . . . To strengthen their position the legislature specified that the Croatans themselves were to be the final judge of geneology. In their struggle for status and respectability they persuaded the legislature of the dominant group to give them the right to exclude people whose Negro ancestry was too visible (Shibutani and Kwan, 1965, p. 204).

One group whose Negro ancestry was too visible was the Smillings. The Smillings were a group of about two hundred mulattoes who came from South Carolina and settled in the area between Roland and Maxton, North Carolina about the time of the Great Depression. The Lumbees considered these people Negroes and refused to permit them to enter Lumbee schools. By 1958, there were about 5,000 Smillings and it became necessary for the county to allot $50,000 for a school for this group since they refused to attend Negro schools. Thus there arose four separate school systems in Robeson County (Durham Morning Herald, Sunday, January 26, 1958).

Aside from their forced segregation from whites the Lumbee's major problem concerning education is that they receive no Federal Aid as do most Indian tribes. This is

due to the fact that the United States Government has never considered them as true Indians. Rather they consider the Lumbees a mixed group. Unlike most Indians the Lumbees never made war on the United States. They were never obliged to sign a peace treaty. The result of this "error" is that the Lumbees were never placed on a reservation nor granted Federal aid. Since the Lumbees were never given any economic aid, it has been said that "at the turn of the Twentieth Century, the Indians, for the most part, were as uneducated group, living in poverty, and trying, with little help, to fight their way back from the brink of cultural and economic oblivion" (Brown, 1958).

The Lumbees have been making some economic and social progress during the past few years in spite of the strained social relations which have persisted down to the present. The first documented violence between the Lumbees and whites in the last century occurred in 1958. Several Lumbees threatened the caste system by trying to cross the color line and they were made examples of by the whites. The South Carolina chapter of the Ku Klux Klan was involved in one such incident in which the Lumbees routed Ku Klux Klan members during a night rally in Robeson County. The cause of this meeting was the fact that one Indian family moved into a white neighborhood and this displeased some whites. A second causal factor was that an Indian woman had been openly dating a white man. The resulting riot between the Ku Klux Klan and the Lumbees attracted national

attention in the press (Durham Morning Herald, Sunday, January 20, 1958).

Such incidents offer support to the idea that a caste system does indeed exist in Robeson County. Noticeable attempts at crossing the color line are met with resistance, indicating that the color line is well defined and rigidly maintained. Beneath a façade of tranquility, in this area, are covert unrest and resentment among the various ethnic groups, which have become manifest over a period of a century or more, and as recently as 1958.

The historical background of these ethnic groups suggests that the stratification system in Robeson County may be represented by a tri-ethnic caste system, in which the Lumbees play a significant part. However, the historical presentation does not prove that the Lumbees occupy an intermediate caste either economically or socially, although the Lumbees themselves may view their position in the stratification system as intermediate. The whites on the other hand may view the Lumbees as different from Negroes, but not of higher status.

Figure 1 shows the major population centers in Robeson County, which is located in the Southern portion of North Carolina. In 1960 the nonwhites composed 59 per cent of the population while 31 per cent of the population was white. About 29.5 per cent of the nonwhites were Indian and 29.5 per cent were Negro (United States Bureau of the Census, 1961).

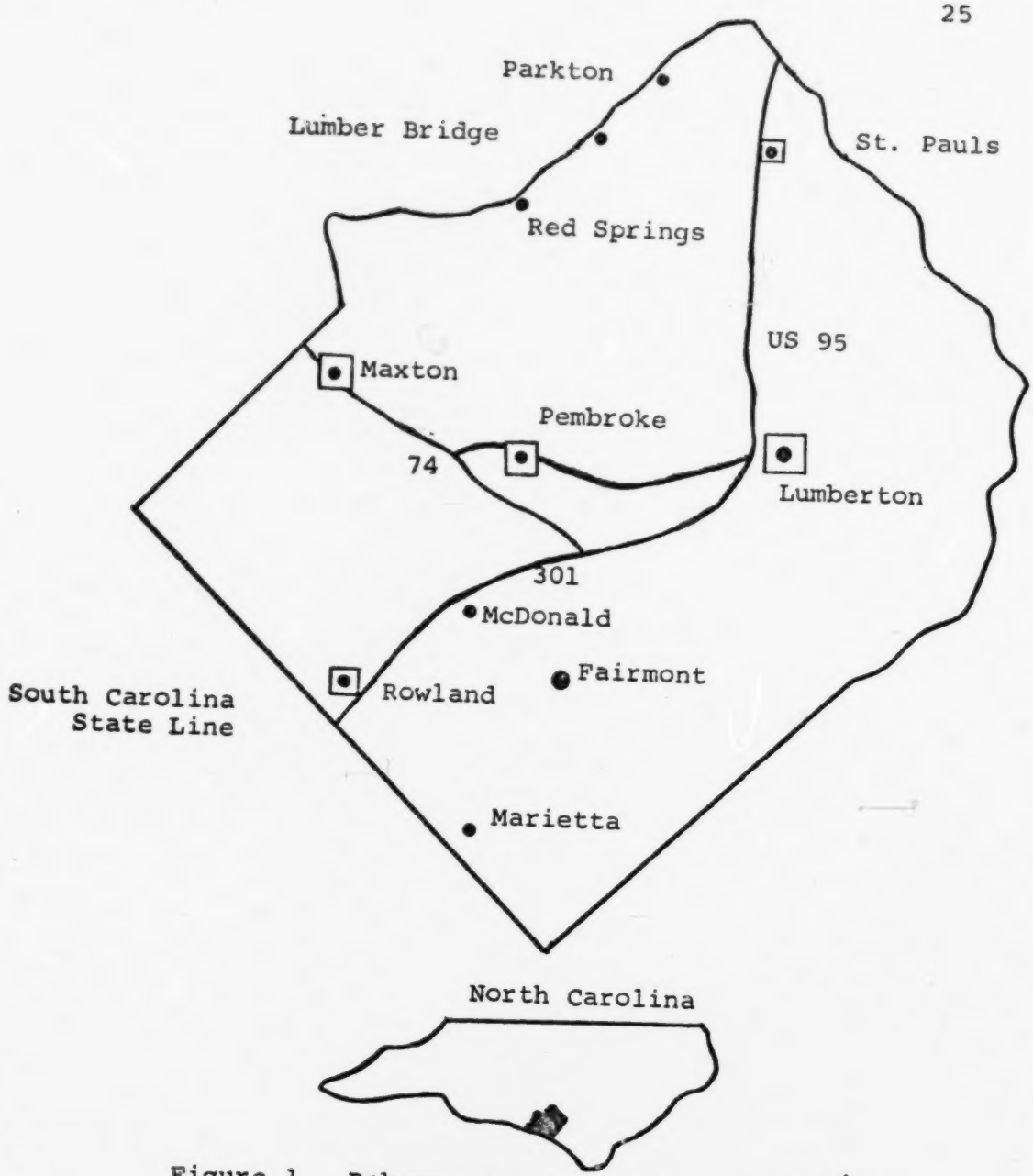

Figure 1. Robeson County, North Carolina[4]

Map depicting Robeson County, North Carolina with a blowup of county and its major cities.

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[4]Adapted from Robeson County, North Carolina State Highway Commission Map; Revised 1964.

METHOD OF STUDY

The data for this study were obtained from two related regional projects denoted S-44 and S-61 respectively. The first of these projects was begun in 1958 by rural sociologists in eight southeastern states. S-44 was entitled "Factors in the Adjustment of Families and Individuals in the Low Income Rural Areas of the South" (Moon and Mc Cann, 1966). S-61 was entitled "Human Resources and Mobility in the Rural South" and constitutes a resurvey of the same respondents.

The basic objectives of these projects were as follows: To identify intrafamily socioeconomic status factors, attitudes and values, communication factors, etc. which affect adjustment; to develop classificatory criteria for adjustment potentials of the families and individuals; to develop means of measuring the various variables; to develop ways of facilitating adjustment (Moon and Mc Cann, 1966).

The S-44 Technical Committee conducted a regional sampling survey in the seven participating states. Robeson was one of three North Carolina counties selected through an area probability sampling design as formulated by the Department of Experimental Statistics at North Carolina State University. Each county contained a number of randomly selected areas: Robeson County had twenty-two such areas randomly selected in accord with the sampling technique. In all cases the population of the study was

households in the open country portion of low income counties of the participating states (Adams, 1964).

The collection of the data was done by interviewing respondents. There were two schedules--one for the head of the house and one for the homemaker. Different kinds of information were elicited by each interview schedule. The schedules were similar on both projects, but not all of the families were available for the resurvey.

Selected Variables

A major purpose of this study is to try to find out whether the Lumbees really do occupy a middle status in the tri-ethnic caste system posited as an explanation or description of the social stratification system operating in Robeson County. In order to test this proposition some pertinent variables were selected from the available data on the county. These variables dealt with the nature and type of adjustments made by the three ethnic groups. The assumption was made that measures of adjustment and measures of attitudes could be analyzed in order to get some indication as to how these ethnic groups relate to their physical and social environment. Such measures may reflect the position in the stratification system occupied by each ethnic group. Using this orientation an examination was made of the selected potentials and levels of adjustment as well as adjustment related variables.

It was also thought that the type of adjustment made by these ethnic groups might throw some light on the nature of any conflict and/or competition existing among these groups, and also point out whether there has been much accommodation of one group to another.

Potentials of Adjustment

A potential is defined here as ". . . the latent force or resource which may influence the mechanisms of adjustment . . . These include variables such as . . . color, education, size of family . . ." (Moon and Mc Cann, 1966, p. 8). The major potential of adjustment in this study, of course, is ethnicity. A second potential is education, the third is family size, fourth is residence and fifth is degree of anomia.

Ethnicity. This variable corresponds generally to skin color, but not in all cases. Color is a highly important variable. ". . . the variable color can be singled out as the fundamental factor for the seriousness (of adjustment problems)" (Moon and Mc Cann, 1966, p. 41). One aim of this research is to explore further this alleged correspondence.

It is usually assumed that the darker the skin color the more difficult the adjustment. The reason for this is that the darker the skin the lower is one's status in the status hierarchy of the stratification system. Such

discrimination enables light skinned persons to more effectively compete for jobs, education, and housing.. The degree to which this discrimination is accepted, by those against whom the system operates, influences the amount of open conflict among the ethnic groups. The more the acceptance, the less the conflict.

Table 1 shows the distribution of households, available for both the original survey and the resurvey, for the three ethnic groups.

Table 1. Frequency distribution of households by ethnic group

Ethnic Group	Number of Households in Categories	Per Cent in Categories
White	33	48
Indian	19	27
Negro	17	25
Total	69	100

Educational Level. This variable is used as a control variable. "Education is regarded as a very important factor in the Family's adjustment behavior" (Moon and Mc Cann, 1966, p. 23). Education may be a relevant factor in explaining some of the variation in the phenomena under study. Those who are discriminated against, and segregated into separate schools, as were the ethnic groups under investigation, may be maintained in an inferior position if they do not obtain as high quality an education as do members of

other racial or ethnic groups. Due to inequalities in educational systems the discriminated-against group are unable to advance their economic and social status because they do not have sufficient education to compete against others in the job market. Educational inequalities may be a barrier not only to economic and social advancement, but also to assimilation of one group into another one. The inability of members of an educationally disadvantaged group to assimilate into groups with higher social and economic status is one means of maintaining social distance. This educational disadvantage is one means of maintaining the barriers to crossing the color line.

In this study education was dichotomized at the median year attained, which happened to be seven years for both males and females. Seven years, or less, of education was classified as "low" educational attainment, while eight years or more was considered "high" attainment.

Table 2 shows the distribution of heads and homemakers, interviewed in both surveys, in the high and low educational categories.

Family Size. The family size was defined as the number of persons in the household. "The size of the family is also considered to be another indication of the family's potential for adjustment" (Moon and Mc Cann, 1966, p. 26). This factor will be descriptive of the three ethnic groups. Family size may be associated with economic spending power,

Table 2. Frequency distribution of households by educational level of head and homemaker

Number of Grades Completed	Number of Heads in Categories	%	Number of Homemakers in Categories	%
0-7 years (low)	40	58	40	58
8-16 years (high)	22	32	29	42
No information	7[a]	10	0	0
Total	69	100	69	100

[a]Excluded from the dichotomy.

and therefore associated with life style. The large families should tend to have more economic hardships and decreased educational opportunities.

Table 3 shows the distribution of households, interviewed in both surveys, by family size, which has been dichotomized into "large" and "small" categories based on the number of person in each household.

Residence. Type of residence was determined by the criteria of the 1960 census definition of rural-farm and rural-nonfarm (United States Bureau of Census, 1961), these criteria being acreage (Less than 10 acres or 10 acres or more) and value agricultural products ($250 or more, or less than $250). Type of residence is considered ". . . an important variable in the understanding of adjustment behavior or rural families" (Moon and Mc Cann, 1966, p. 24). The rural nonfarm category is assumed to stand in the intermediate position as the

Table 3. Frequency distribution of households by family size

Family Size	Number of Households in Categories	Per Cent in Categories
4-11 persons (large)	33	48
1-3 persons (small)	31	45
No Information	5[a]	07
Total	69	100

[a]Excluded from the dichotomy.

rural-urban continuum, in certain areas of social and cultural change (Adams, 1964).

Many of the rural farms in Robeson County are tenant farms. The people who live there can be expected to be poorer than average, indicating an inadequate adjustment. Such people may not be able to compete adequately in the labor market. This may be an especially pertinent variable when considering the fact that the number of farms is decreasing while the size of farms is increasing. This trend toward fewer but larger farms may indicate that those who own farms are adequately competing while tenants are not. Unfortunately the rural farm-nonfarm dichotomy does not tell us as much about life style as would a rural-urban dichotomy. However it should be of value to see whether, in this rural community, there is a difference in residence types among the three ethnic groups.

Table 4 shows the distribution of households, interviewed in both surveys, by residence type, which was dichotomized into rural-farm and rural-nonfarm categories.

Table 4. Frequency distribution of households by residence type

Residence Type	Number of Households in Categories	Per Cent in Categories
Rural-farm	40	58
Rural-nonfarm	28	41
No Information	1[a]	01
Total	69	100

[a]Excluded from the dichotomy.

Anomia. "The anomia of the head and homemaker is considered a psychological factor which, as a potential, would influence the adjustment behavior of the family" (Moon and Mc Cann, 1966, p. 28).

This variable (also called alienation, despondence, or pessimism) is measured by means of attitude responses in a modified version of Srole's scale items (Srole, 1956). An acceptable Guttman type scale consisting of six items was developed for the S-44 project. The items or attitude statements are:

1. Nowadays a person has to live pretty much for today and let tomorrow take care of itself.
2. In spite of what some people say, the lot of the average man is getting worse, not better.

3. It's hardly fair to bring children into the world with the way things look for the future.
4. These days a person doesn't really know whom he can count on.
5. There's little use in writing to public officials because often they aren't really interested in the problems of the average man.
6. Things have usually gone against me in life.

The use of this variable, in studying the three ethnic groups, is based on the assumption that those who respond in a negative way so as to be regarded as anomic or pessimistic would be the people in the lower status or caste in the stratification system. Such people would be pessimistic with respect to their life chances due to an inability to compete and discrimination within the stratification system. These people are less likely to assimilate into higher status groups and would have little reason to think that life conditions will change for them. Conversely, those for whom the social system works toward some advantage will tend to be better adjusted, more optimistic and less anomic. Even if conditions become bad they still have the knowledge of their advantageous position within the stratification system, relative to persons of inferior status. In the event that analysis were to indicate that people occupy a

low status and are members of an inferior caste yet remain free of anomic attitudes it could mean they have accommodated themselves to the dominant group.

Table 5 shows the distribution of respondents by their (Guttman) ideal types, for both the 1961 and the 1966 surveys. These ideal types are based on responses to the attitude statements listed above.

Table 5. Frequency distribution of respondents by anomia score and by year

Ideal Types	Number of Respondents in Each Category in 1961	1966	Per Cent in Each Category in 1961	1966
6	44	39	32	28
5	6	2	04	01
4	1	6	01	04
3	3	2	02	01
2	3	3	02	02
1	12	6	09	04
0	65	76	47	55
No Information	4[a]	4[a]	03	03

[a]Excluded from the analysis.

Note: A score of "6" indicates all optimistic responses while a score of "0" indicate all pessimistic responses.

Levels of Adjustment

Level of adjustment is defined here as ". . . the adjusted state and the achieved degree of adjustment with respect to the realization of family goals" (Moon and Mc Cann, 1966, p. 7). Eaton (1947, pp. 75-81) suggests two major criteria concerning levels of adjustment-attitudinal and functional. According to Moon and Mc Cann (1966, pp. 78),

family adjustment is determined by the extent to which family members ". . . express themselves as satisfied or dissatisfied with the manner of life they have adopted in order to meet the changed environment," i.e., adjustment is dependent upon attitudes. According to functional criteria ". . . the adequacy of the adjustment of a family is determined, regardless of the personal attitudes of its members . . . ," i.e., the family conforms to the norms of its society in order to be adjusted.

The chosen levels of adjustment variables are income, home tenure, level of living, communication, and social participation.

Income. This variable is considered to measure the family's economic adjustment level and it refers to the ". . . total family income received during the year preceding the interview. This includes net farm income, nonfarm income, spouse income, and income from all other sources" (Moon and Mc Cann, 1966, p. 12). For the purpose of this study income is dichotomized at the median categroy (See Appendix C, p. 118).

Income ought to be a good index of how well a family is able to compete on the labor market, and in other ways related to economics. If the Lumbees are in a middle position in the status hierarchy this means that they will not be discriminated against to as great a degree as the

Negroes in the area. They should get a better education and earn more money than Negroes, but not earn as large incomes as whites. While income may be one indicator of the ability of one group to compete with other groups, this variable would not indicate much about the degree to which one group accommodates to other groups.

Table 6 shows the distribution of households, interviewed in both surveys, for the various income categories used in the S-61 project.

Table 6. Frequency distribution of households by income level

Total Household Income from All Sources	Number of Households in Categories	Per Cent in Categories
$ 0 - 999	15	
1,000 - 1,999	21	
2,000 - 2,999	3	52 (LOW)
3,000 - 3,999	6	
4,000 - 4,999	5	
5,000 - 5,999	5	
6,000 - 6,999	3	
7,000 - 7,999	2	
8,000 - 8,999	1	41 (HIGH)
9,000 - 9,999		
10,000 +	3	
No Information	5[a]	07
Total	69	100

[a]Excluded from dichotomy.

Home Tenure. The ability of a family to own its own home is an important indicator of the degree to which the family can cope with its life circumstances. The inability of the family to own its own home is a significant obstacle

for farm families trying to make adjustments, according to Taylor and Burch (1958). Those families in Robeson County who are capable of maintaining homes are more able to adjust to changing times and compete effectively. Those who are unable to do so may have to move elsewhere to live, rent a home, or may have to work someone's farm, i.e., become tenant farmers.

Table 7 shows the distribution of households interviewed in both surveys, categorized by whether they own or rent their homes.

Table 7. Frequency distribution of households by home tenure

Home Tenure	Number of Households in Each Category	Per Cent In Each Category
Own	35	51
Rent	29	42
No Information	5[a]	07
Total	69	100

[a]Excluded from the dichotomy.

Level of Living. One important factor in the adjustment of families in low income rural areas is level of living (Adams, 1964, pp. 2-15). In this study level of living is measured by means of six item Guttman type scales that were developed for the regional S-44 study.[5]

[5]For further information see Cleland, Charles L. (ed.), Scaling Social Data. (See list of References.)

The first scale is called the material possessions scale, and includes the following items:

1. Mechanical refrigerator
2. Gas or electric range
3. Piped water
4. Bath or shower
5. Kitchen sink
6. Vacuum cleaner

The second scale is called the communications scale and includes the following:

1. Radio
2. Television
3. Automobile
4. Daily newspaper
5. Telephone
6. Weekly or monthly

This variable shows how well the household lives in terms of material goods, which are highly valued by society. The higher the family's position in the stratification system the more likely it is that material goods have been obtained. If the Lumbees occupy an intermediate status, they should have more material possessions than Negroes, but less than whites. This assumes a direct relationship between ability to compete, socially and economically, and ownership of material goods.

Table 8 shows the distribution of households, interviewed in both surveys, by their Guttman ideal types for both 1961 and 1966. This table pertains to the material possessions scale.

Table 8. Frequency distribution of households by level of living (material possessions) and by year

Ideal Type	Number of Respondents in Each Category in 1961	1966	Per Cent in Each Category in 1961	1966
6	14	24	20	35
5	9	11	13	16
4	5	5	7	7
3	2	2	3	3
2	21	18	30	26
1	8	3	12	4
0	5	1	7	1
No Information	5[a]	5[a]	7	7
Total	69	69	100	100

[a]Excluded from the analysis.

Note: A score of "6" indicates possession of all items while a score of "0" indicates possession of none of the items.

Table 9 gives the distribution of households, interviewed in both surveys, by their Guttman ideal types for 1961 and 1966, for the communication scale.

Social Participation. "The social participation of a family is considered to reflect the adjustment of a family to the community" (Moon and Mc Cann, 1966, p. 12).

The degree to which a family participates in the community's social activities should indicate the degree to which the family is socially acceptable to the community. The Lumbees do not socialize or interact with whites any more than is necessary. This is probably due to the fact that such inter-ethnic relations are so structured as to

place the Indians in an inferior position relative to whites (Johnson, 1939).

Table 9. Frequency distribution of households by level of living (communications scores) and by year

Ideal Type	Number of Households in Each Category in 1961	1966	Per Cent in Each Category in 1961	1966
6	8	21	12	30
5	9	8	13	12
4	8	6	12	09
3	24	16	35	23
2	7	5	10	07
1	4	2	06	03
0	4	6	06	09
No Information	5[a]	5[a]	07	07
Total	69	69	100	100

[a]Excluded from the analysis.

Note: A score of "6" indicates possession of all items while a score of "0" indicates possession of none of the items.

A social participation score was computed for each household in the following manner. A score of one was assigned when the respondent was a member of an organization; a score of two was assigned if he attended one-fourth or more of the meetings; a score of three was assigned if he held an office or committee post. These scores were totaled for the head and for the homemaker and an average was taken, the average being the measure. In those cases where there was only one respondent, the respondent's total score was taken as the measure of participation (See Appendix H, p. 129).

Table 10 shows the distribution of households interviewed in both surveys, by the joint participation scores of heads and homemakers, the scores being dichotomized at the median score.

Table 10. Frequency distribution of households by social participation score

Participation Score	Number of Households in Each Category	Per Cent in Each Category
5-6 (high)	36	52
0-5 (low)	28	41
No Information	5[a]	07
Total	69	100

[a]Excluded from dichotomy.

Adjustment Related Factors

There are numerous variables which are not known to be valid indicators of family adjustment but which are believed to be pertinent to such a study as this. Some of these variables are included for the first time in the S-61 resurvey study and cannot be compared to previous data as are some of the aforementioned potentials and levels of adjustment. These adjustment related factors are grouped in this last category of variables. They are included with the assumption that they may (a) be of value in describing the three ethnic groups, and (b) be of value in testing the hypothesis that the Lumbees occupy an intermediate position in a caste system in Robeson County.

These adjustment related variables are dichotomized into high-low, yes-no, etc. The variables are:

1. Job changes
2. Training courses taken
3. Voting registration (both status and year)
4. Need to participate
5. Opinion about income
6. Opinion about living conditions
7. Opinion about borrowing money

The opinion variables have been included because opinions may lead to different insights about the social stratification system than do more concrete material measures. The assumption is that stated opinions reflect values and attitudes, and give insights into the respondent's "cognitive" system. These "cognative" systems should reflect the structure of the social system which helped formulate them. For instance if family members are continually frustrated in their efforts to elevate their economic and social position they would be expected to become pessimistic. This would be especially true in a caste system because the system is not likely to change much since caste systems are not characterized by rapid social change. In the event that the family is not doing well financially and members are not rising in social status but their opinions are characterized by optimism then they have evidently accepted their social situation. In other words the inferior caste has accommodated to the superior caste in the event that they remain optimistic in the face of perpetual adverse circumstances.

METHOD OF STATISTICAL ANALYSIS

The three ethnic groups in this study have been described through the use of proportions and percentages and descriptive statistics such as deemed necessary to define the groups.

The analysis in this study relies on available data and the generalizations which can be made about these ethnic groups depend, in part upon the sampling technique employed in the original study. The generalizations made depend also upon logic and the hypotheses made, because this analysis deals with a panel that has been questioned twice.[6]

Chi-square was used in most instances, due to the nature of the data (nominal categories). Chi-squares were computed by means of the following formula:

$X^2 = E\ fo^2/fe^2 - N$ (Blalock, 1960, p. 217).

In some cases comparisons were made, of data from the original study and the resurvey. It was necessary in such instances to use a special computation devised to take into account the fact that the sample did not meet the criteria for independence. The same households had been interviewed twice rather than taking independent random samples. The following formula was used in these cases:

$$X^2 = (1A - D1)^2/A + D \quad \text{(Seigel, 1956, p. 63)}$$

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[6] Informal discussion with thesis committee chairman concerning the analysis of the data, June, 1967.

Details of these procedures may be found in the above-cited texts.

The Analysis and Results section of this paper contains a number of tables which are condensed presentations of chi-squares found in the analysis tables, Appendix A. These tables present relevant findings while leaving the text free of the numerous tables obtained during the data analysis. The tables contain the components of the variable under discussion, the chi-square obtained, the relevant degrees of freedom and the level of significance.

ANALYSIS AND RESULTS

Education

Table 11 shows that the groups differ in education more than would be expected by chance. All three of the chi-squares are significant. The chi-square value for ethnicity by education is especially high for head and homemakers combined indicating that as a family basis there are extreme differences in ethnic groups on the variable of education.

Table 11. Components of education*

Component	X^2	d.f.	Significance
Ethnicity X education (for head and homemaker)	16.89	2	$p < .05$
Ethnicity X education (for head only)	6.6	2	$p < .05$
Ethnicity X education (for homemaker only)	12.5	2	$p < .05$

*See Tables 24, 25, 26, Appendix A, pp. 86-87.

Table 24 indicates that the whites are higher in number of years of education than either the Indians or Negroes. Fifty-seven per cent of the white respondents are categorized as high in education, as compared to 22 per cent of the Indians and 21 per cent of the Negroes. This does not support the central hypothesis. Instead it suggests that the Indians and Negroes are equally low in educational attainment as compared to whites.

The data in Table 25 tend to support the central hypothesis, with 50 per cent of the white heads of family categorized as high education, 31 per cent of Indians, and only 12.5 per cent of Negro heads, Looking at homemakers only, Table 26 shows that 64 per cent of whites, 16 per cent of Indians and 29 per cent of Negroes are categorized as high in education. These data do not support the central hypothesis since Indian homemakers scored even lower than Negro homemakers on educational attainment.

Family Size

The differences in family size among the three ethnic groups are not statistically significant according to the data in Table 27. The chi-square of 13.64 is not significant at the .05 level. The variable of family size is evidently not relevant in discerning any existing differences among the ethnic groups.

Residence Type

As in the case of family size the chi-square (12.20) is not significant at the .05 level. Any distinctions to be made among the ethnic groups based on these two variables are unclear, and not significant at the level chosen for the analysis.

Anomia

Table 12 shows that the chi-square (34.32) is significant so that a distinction may be made, among the ethnic groups, with respect to anomia. The chi-squares for ethnicity X education and the interaction term are also significant. Also ethnicity X education explains 52 per cent of the total and the interaction term explains 26 per cent of the total. Education seems to be an important factor in this instance.

Table 12. Components of anomia*

Source	X^2	d.f.	Significance
Total	34.32	7	$p < .05$
Anomia X ethnicity	4.87	2	$p > .05$
Anomia X education	2.88	1	$p > .05$
Ethnicity X education	17.71	2	$p < .05$
Interaction	8.86	2	$p < .05$

*See Tables 29, 30, 31 and 32, Appendix A, pp. 88-90.

Most of the variation seems to be explained by differences in education. It may be seen from Table 32 that 57 per cent of the whites are high in education while 19 per cent of the Indians and 22 per cent of the Negroes are categorized as high in education. These data do not support the hypothesis.

Table 30 shows that 56 per cent of the whites scored high on anomia, as compared to 65 per cent of the Indians, and only 22 per cent of the Negroes are high in anomia.

These data clearly do not support the main hypothesis and in the light of the data in Table 32 it would seem that there is no direct relationship between education and anomia among these ethnic groups.

The data in Table 33 indicate that most respondents did not change their attitude concerning anomia between 1961 and 1966. Among those who did change their attitudes, the changes among Indians paralleled those among whites rather than among Negroes, but the results were not statistically significant.

Income Level

The ethnic groups differed in income more than would be expected by chance according to Table 13, in which all of the chi-squares are statistically significant. Income X ethnicity explains the majority of the variation (57 per cent of the total) with income X education explaining 24 per cent of the total. The data suggest that income is an important variable in explaining differences among the ethnic groups.

Table 13. Components of income*

Source	X^2	d.f.	Significance
Total	34.80	7	$p < .05$
Income X ethnicity	19.92	2	$p < .05$
Income X education	8.34	1	$p < .05$
Ethnicity X education	6.16	2	$p < .05$
Interaction	.38	2	$p > .05$

*See Tables 34, 35, 36, and 37; Appendix A, pp. 91-92.

The data in Table 35 indicate that income X ethnicity explain most of the total variation, with 76 per cent of the whites, 47 per cent of the Indians, and only 7 per cent of the Negroes categorized as high in income. This table does support the main hypothesis. Note however, that the data also show that 53 per cent of the Indians and 93 per cent of the Negroes earn less than $2,000 per year and are therefore living in a state of poverty. Only 24 per cent of the whites are living in poverty, based on this sole criterion. Numerically, over one-half of the people in the low income category are Negroes.

Home Tenure

The data on home tenure (Table 14) show that home tenure X ethnicity explains most of the variation, with this interaction explaining 61.5 per cent of the total X^2. Ethnicity X education explains 25 per cent of the variation. All of the chi-squares are statistically significant with the exception of home tenure X education.

Table 14. Components of home tenure*

Source	X^2	d.f.	Significance
Total	24.80	7	p .05
Home tenure X ethnicity	15.25	2	p .05
Home tenure X education	3.15	1	p .05
Ethnicity X education	6.16	2	p .05
Interaction	0.24	2	p .05

*See Tables 38, 39, 40 and 41, Appendix A, pp. 93-94.

According to the data in Table 39, 76 per cent of the whites, 20 per cent of the Indians and 31 per cent of the Negroes own their own homes, i.e., 79 per cent of those who rent their homes are either Indian or Negro. Since the Indians are even less apt to own their homes, the data do not support the main hypothesis. However, these data compare well with the previously stated findings that Indians and Negroes are more likely to have low incomes.

The chi-square for ethnicity X education (6.16) is statistically significant but does not explain much of the total chi-square. Table 41 shows percentages of 50 per cent for whites, 33 per cent for Indians and 12.5 per cent for Negroes categorized as high in education. These data are comparable to the ethnicity X education interaction gives in Table 13 and the data support the findings of the analysis of education described in the beginning of this section.

Level of Living

Material Possessions

Analysis of the material possessions scale indicates that the main effects are statistically significant (Table 15). Material possessions X ethnicity explains 56 per cent of the total chi-square while material possessions X education and education by ethnicity explain 20 per cent each, of the total chi-square.

Table 15. Components of material possessions*

Source	X^2	d.f.	Significance
Total	32.40	7	$p < .05$
Material possessions X ethnicity	18.22	2	$p < .05$
Material possessions X education	7.09	1	$p < .05$
Ethnicity X education	6.37	2	$p < .05$
Interaction	0.72	2	$p > .05$

*See Tables 42, 43, 44 and 45, Appendix A, pp 95-96.

Eighty-six per cent of the whites, 50 per cent of the Indians, and 20 per cent of the Negroes are categorized as high on the material possessions scale in Table 43. This finding does support the central hypothesis. However 82 per cent of those categorized as low in material possessions are either Indians or Negroes. This supports the previous findings that the nonwhites are not as likely to have high incomes or own their own homes.

The findings in Table 45 support the notion that the amount of education is proportional to the number of material possessions for each of the ethnic groups, with the whites showing a definite advantage.

Furthermore, Table 46 indicates that half of the respondents changed with respect to the number of items they owned. Ninety-one per cent of those who changed had more items in 1966 than they had in 1961. Only one white, one Indian and one Negro household decreased in the number

of items owned. There was no change in number of items owned for half of the households during this five year period.

All of the chi-squares for material possessions in Table 46 are statistically significant. While this finding does not support the central hypothesis, it is significant that what change there has been is uniformly positive among all three ethnic groups.

Communications

Table 16 shows that all of the main effects are statistically significant. Communications X ethnicity explains 58 per cent of the total chi-square and, as has been the case in several previous comparisons ethnicity X education explains 24 per cent of the total chi-square.

Table 16. Components of communications*

Source	X^2	d.f.	Level of Significance
Total	26.86	7	$p < .05$
Communications X ethnicity	15.59	2	$p < .05$
Communications X education	4.40	1	$p < .05$
Ethnicity X education	6.37	2	$p < .05$
Interaction	0.50	2	$p > .05$

*See Tables 48, 49, 50, and 51, Appendix A, pp. 98-99.

In Table 49 it can be seen that 75 per cent of the whites are categorized as high in communications; 25 per cent of the Indians, and 20 per cent of the Negroes are

high on this variable. These data tend to support the hypothesis in that the Indians are in an intermediary position between whites and Negroes. However the Indians rate very close to the Negroes in this instance as has been the case in several previous comparisons. Looked at another way, 75 per cent of those who are rated low in communications are either Indian or Negro. The whites seem much better off than the nonwhites.

As was the case with material possessions it may be seen from Table 51 that 50 per cent of the whites, 25 per cent of the Indians, and 13 per cent of the Negroes are high in education.

Table 47 shows that only the whites changed significantly in the number of communication items owned. This change was positive, i.e., the whites had more items in 1966 than they had in 1961 generally speaking. The chi-square of the total change is also signficant and positive but the changes among the Indians and Negroes were such that the chi-squares are not significant. Note also that there was no change for nearly half of the respondents. While these findings do not support the central hypothesis it is significant that most of the change that has occurred has been positive and has been especially favorable to the whites.

Social Participation

Table 17 shows that only two of the main effects, the total and ethnicity X education are statistically significant. Table 54 shows that those who were high in education tended to be high in social participation while those who were low in education tended to be low in social participation. Social participation seems to be another variable in which education is a predictor of how the respondent will be categorized. Ethnicity X education explains 60 per cent of the total X^2. Since the chi-square for participation X ethnicity did not even approach significance the former variable does not seem important in explaining the source of the variation. Instead it is the education factor which is relevant. In Table 55, 64 per cent of the whites, 20 per cent of the Indians and 31 per cent of the Negroes are high in education. These findings do not support the central hypothesis nor the previous findings on education. In this instance there were a higher percentage of Negroes than of Indians who are categorized as high in education. The reason for this difference is that we are now dealing with the educational level of the homemaker, not the head. In Table 26 the percentages of Negro homemakers who are high in education are greater than the percentages of Indian homemakers who are high on this variable. Therefore the basic findings concerning education are supported by the data.

Table 17. Components of social participation*

Source	X^2	d.f.	Level of Significance
Total	15.64	7	$p < .05$
Participation X ethnicity	0.15	2	$p > .05$
Participation X education	3.50	1	$p > .05$
Ethnicity X education	9.46	2	$p < .05$
Interaction	2.53	2	$p > .05$

*See Tables 52, 53, 54, and 55, Appendix A, pp. 100-1.

Job Change

The chi-square of 8.61 (Table 56) is not significant. Nor would it have been significant at the .10 level. The data for ethnicity X education would have been significant and would have explained most of the total variation so job change does not seem to be important and no further analysis was made.

Voting Registration

Table 18 shows that most of the main effects are statistically significant except for registration X ethnicity. Ethnicity X education explained 56 per cent of the total X^2.

Table 58 shows that 82 per cent of the whites, 62 per cent of the Indians, and 53 per cent of the Negroes were registered to vote. This would support the central hypothesis had the chi-square been significant.

Table 59 indicates that 85 per cent of those who are high in education were registered to vote while only 60 per cent of those who were low in education were registered.

Table 18. Components of voting registration*

Source	X^2	d.f.	Level of Significance
Total	24.03	7	$p < .05$
Registration X ethnicity	4.37	2	$p > .05$
Registration X education	4.90	1	$p < .05$
Ethnicity X education	13.39	2	$p < .05$
Interaction	1.37	2	$p > .05$

*See Tables 57, 58, 59 and 60, Appendix A, pp. 102-4.

It can be seen in Table 60 that 64 per cent of the whites are high in education; only 12 per cent of the Indians are high in education, and 27 per cent of the Negroes are high on this variable. Since we are again dealing with the education of the homemaker the data are in keeping with previous findings.

Year First Registered to Vote

Table 19 shows that most of the main effects are statistically significant. Year registered X education and the interaction term are not significant.

It can be seen from Table 19 that year registered X ethnicity is the main effect explaining most of the total chi-square, as it explained 55 per cent.

Table 62 indicates that 93 per cent of the whites had registered before the civil rights bill of 1964; 70 per cent of the Indians had registered before 1964, while only 22 per cent of the Negroes had registered before this time.

Table 19. Components of year registered to vote*

Source	x^2	d.f.	Level of Significance
Total	30.65	7	$p < .05$
Year registered X ethnicity	16.92	2	$p < .05$
Year registered X education	2.40	1	$p > .05$
Ethnicity X education	10.84	2	$p < .05$
Interaction	0.49	2	$p > .05$

*See Tables 61, 62, 63 and 64, Appendix A, pp. 104-6.

Looked at another way, 83 per cent of those who registered after 1964 were either Indian or Negro, the bulk of these being Negroes. These findings do support the central hypothesis. Obviously the civil rights bill has had the greatest effect on Negro voter registration.

We can see in Table 64 that 70 per cent of the whites are high in education; only 10 per cent of the Indians are high in education, and 44 per cent of the Negroes are high on this variable. Generally these findings support the previous findings but it is interesting to note that there were more Negroes than Indians high in education, yet there were fewer Negroes than Indians registered to vote before 1964.

Felt Need to Participate

Table 20 indicates that the only main effects which are significant are the total and ethnicity X education.

Table 20. Components of need to participate*

Source	X^2	d.f.	Level of Significance
Total	14.16	7	$p < .05$
Need to participate X ethnicity	4.29	2	$p > .05$
Need to participate X education	0.14	1	$p > .05$
Ethnicity X education	9.15	2	$p < .05$
Interaction	.58	2	$p > .05$

*See Tables 65, 66, 67 and 68, Appendix A, pp. 106-8.

Ethnicity X education explained most (65 per cent) of the total chi-square.

It may be seen from Table 66 that only 21 per cent of the whites felt a need to participate in social activities; 40 per cent of the Indians felt a need to participate, and only 7 per cent of the Negroes felt such a need. These findings do not support the central hypothesis but it is notable that 78 per cent of the respondents indicated no felt need to participate in the various social organizations.

In Table 68, 63 per cent of the whites, 20 per cent of the Indians, and 33 per cent of the Negroes are high in education, and this is in keeping with previous findings concerning education of the homemakers. Education, not ethnicity is the important predictor of felt need to participate in social activities.

Head's Opinion About Family Income

In Table 21 the only main effects that are statistically significant are the total and head's opinion about income X ethnicity. We also see from Table 21 that head's opinion about income X ethnicity explained 51 per cent of the total chi-square.

Table 21. Components of head's opinion about family income*

Source	X^2	d.f.	Level of Significance
Total	20.30	7	$p < .05$
Head's opinion about income X ethnicity	10.40	2	$p < .05$
Head's opinion about income X education	2.95	1	$p > .05$
Ethnicity X education	5.04	2	$p > .05$
Interaction	1.91	2	$p > .05$

*See Tables 69, 70, 71 and 72, Appendix A, pp. 108-9.

Table 70 shows that 71 per cent of the white, 14 per cent of the Indian, and 23 per cent of the Negro heads are satisfied with their incomes. In other words 66 per cent of those who were not satisfied with their incomes were either Indians or Negroes. These findings do not support the central hypothesis as the Negroes, and not the Indians, are in the intermediate position.

In Table 72, 50 per cent of the whites, 28 per cent of the Indians, and only 15 per cent of the Negroes are

high in education. In this case the chi-square was not significant, perhaps due to the small number of respondents for whom information was available.

Comparing the three ethnic groups on the head's opinion about family income, it was found that the whites were almost unchanged in their opinions from 1961 to 1966. The percentage of Indians who were satisfied in 1961 was 66 per cent but by 1966 this had decreased to only 15 per cent. For the Negroes the percentage had decreased from 36 per cent in 1961 to 24 per cent in 1966. These data do not support the central hypothesis since the Indians have become much less satisfied than the Negroes. The analysis showed that Indians and Negroes were similar insofar as they had become dissatisfied with their family income.

Homemaker's Opinion About Family Income

Most of the main effects in Table 22 were statistically significant. Table 22 also shows that homemaker's opinion about income X ethnicity explained 49 per cent of the total chi-square and ethnicity X education explained 51 per cent of the total variation.

It may be seen from Table 74 about 64 per cent of the white, 42 per cent of the Indian and only 12 per cent of the Negro homemakers had an income they considered satisfactory. Looked at another way 68 per cent of those who had an unsatisfactory income were either Indian or Negro. These data do support the central hypothesis and also support the notion of similar findings for Indians and Negroes.

Table 22. Components of homemaker's opinion about family income*

Source	X^2	d.f.	Level of Significance
Total	25.06	7	$p < .05$
Homemaker's opinion about income X ethnicity	12.23	2	$p < .05$
Homemaker's opinion about income X education	0.0	1	$p > .05$
Ethnicity X education	12.74	2	$p < .05$
Interaction	.09	2	$p > .05$

*See Tables 73, 74, 75 and 76, Appendix A, pp. 110-12.

Table 76 shows that 64 per cent of the whites are high in education (the same percentage that were satisfied with their income); only 16 per cent of the Indians were high in education and 29 per cent of the Negroes were high on this variable. These data support previous data on the homemaker's education.

Comparing the three ethnic groups on the homemaker's opinion about family income, it was found again that the whites were unchanged in their opinion from 1961 to 1966. In both instances 64 per cent of the whites were satisfied (the same percentage as for white heads). The percentage of Indians who were satisfied in 1961 was 59 per cent but this had decreased to 41 per cent in 1966. Likewise the percentage of satisfied Negroes decreased from 44 per cent in 1961 to 12 per cent in 1966. Indian homemakers did not

change more than Indian heads but Negro homemakers did change more than Negro heads. Therefore the data for opinion change do not tend to support the central hypothesis.

Homemaker's Opinion About Living Conditions

The differences in homemaker's opinion about living conditions among the ethnic groups were not statistically significant according to Table 27. The chi-square of 1.78 was not significant at the .05 level. However, Table 78 shows the change in homemaker's opinion about living conditions between 1961 and 1966 and this chi-square was significant. The chi-squares for white and Negroes were significant but that of the Indians was not. The data do not support the main hypothesis but do indicate a significant change among the ethnic groups with respect to how the homemakers view their living situation. In all cases the respondents felt they were better off in 1966 than they had been in 1961. Evidently the Indians were the least optimistic about the degree of change during the five year period.

Homemaker's Opinion About Borrowing Money

In Table 23 most of the main effects are statistically significant. However, the variation seems to be explained more by education than by ethnicity since the former explains 64 per cent of the total X^2, while the later explains only 1 per cent and is not statistically significant.

Table 23. Components of homemaker's opinion about borrowing money*

Source	X^2	d.f.	Significance
Total	15.34	7	$p < .05$
Homemaker's opinion about borrowing money X ethnicity	0.20	2	$p > .05$
Homemaker's opinion about borrowing money X education	5.07	1	$p < .05$
Ethnicity X education	9.66	2	$p < .05$
Interaction	0.41	2	$p > .05$

*See Tables 79, 80, 81 and 82, Appendix A, pp. 113-15.

It may be deduced from Table 80 that 79 per cent of white, 73 per cent of Indian and 73 per cent of Negro homemakers believe it is permissible to borrow money. Most respondents are in favor of borrowing money regardless of ethnic background. Analysis of this variable does more to reveal the mores of the greater society than to point up differences among the ethnic groups.

Table 81 shows that those respondents high in education are more favorably disposed toward borrowing money, regardless of the ethnic group to which they belong.

SUMMARY AND CONCLUSIONS

This study attempts to investigate a tri-ethnic status system, in Robeson County, North Carolina, composed of approximately equal numbers of whites, Lumbee Indians, and Negroes. It has been previously postulated (Johnson, 1939) that the status system in Robeson County was a caste system compared along ethnic lines, with skin color being a prime consideration along with ethnicity. It was also suggested that the Lumbees occupy the intermediate status, i.e., that the Lumbees have a status half way between the whites who are in the superior position in the caste system, and the Negroes who occupy an inferior position.

In order to test these assertions empirically data were analyzed from two regional studies in three rural counties in North Carolina, of which Robeson County was one. These studies included a survey (1961) and a resurvey (1966) of selected households in Robeson County. These available data included information on certain measures of family adjusment, and adjustment-related potentials which are believed to be pertinent in describing the social stratification system in question.

Information on these selected variables had been obtained from sixty-nine households in the open-country portion of Robeson County. These data were analyzed using the chi-square test of significance. The contingency tables compared the ethnic groups as the selected variables, controlling for the effect of differential education.

The central hypothesis again is that a tri-ethnic caste system operates in Robeson County, North Carolina, with the Lumbee Indians occupying an intermediate status. This means the status hierarchy would be as follows:

whites - superior status
Lumbees - intermediate status
Negroes - inferior status

The analysis of the data is aimed at seeing whether the results conform to this hierarchy. The data may be divided into three categories.

1. Data which support the central hypothesis
2. Data which do not support the central hypothesis
3. Data which do not seem relevant in explaining the relationships among the three ethnic groups.

The analysis shows the variables to be divided as follows:

1. Variables which support the central hypothesis:
   a. Education of the head. Table 11 (See Table 25)
   b. Income. Table 13 (See Table 35)
   c. Level of living--material possessions. Table 15 (See Table 43)
      Level of living--communications. Table 16 (See Table 49)
   d. Year first registered to vote. Table 19 (See Table 62)
   e. Homemaker's opinion about income. Table 22 (See Table 74)
2. Variables which do not support the central hypothesis:
   a. Education. Table 11 (See Table 24)
   b. Education of the homemaker. Table 11 (See Table 26)
   c. Anomia. Table 12 (See Table 30)
   d. Home tenure. Table 14 (See Table 39)

e. Social participation. Table 17 (See Table 53)

f. Voter registration. Table 18 (See Table 56)

g. Felt need to participate. Table 20 (See Table 66)

h. Head's opinion about family income. Table 21 (See Table 70)

i. Homemaker's opinion about borrowing money. Table 23 (See Table 80)

3. Variables which do not seem relevant in explaining the relationship among the three ethnic groups.

a. Family size. Table 27

b. Residence type. Table 28

c. Job change. Table 56

d. Homemaker's opinion about living conditions. Table 77

There is no clear-cut relationship among the ethnic groups with respect to the central hypothesis. That is to say the variables chosen for this analysis do not clearly support the contention that the Indians occupy an intermediate status in the stratification system in Robeson County. Those results do not bear out the assertions made by Johnson as related in the theory and literature review section of this paper.

A closer look should be taken at these variables in order to see what they suggest about the status system among the respondents.

Only one-third of the variables analyzed support the main hypothesis. The first of these is education. However

only the education of the head supported the hypothesis. Education of the homemaker and education of the head and homemaker taken together did not. The education of the head would probably reflect the amount of income and the level of living of the family. The Lumbees are in an intermediate position with respect to the education of the head, the amount of income, and the level of living, including both the material possessions scale and communication scale.

It should be noted that although whites do have more education than Indians or Negroes, only about one-half of the whites have eight or more years of education. The non-whites are even more educationally disadvantaged. This finding suggests generally depressed circumstances economically which characterize many rural counties in the nation. It may be that differences in educational attainment reflect discrimination in the separate school systems mentioned in the historical description of Robeson County. The result of this conjectured discrimination might be seen in the differences in level of living indicated in the analysis of the data. One-half of the Indians and most of the Negroes have an income and a level of living scale score that could easily lead them to be classified as living in poverty. The analysis also shows that the economic picture is not changing very rapidly as indicated by the data which shows that one-half of the households have not increased the number of material possessions owned (See Table 46).

Voting registration is another variable in which the Lumbees occupy the intermediate position. This is not as tangible a variable as those mentioned above. The results may indicate the effects of discrimination against nonwhites, since most of the whites were registered to vote before 1964 whereas many of the Indians and most of the Negrces were not registered. These findings support the contention that whites discriminated against the Negroes more so than against Indians.

The only other variable which actually support the main hypothesis is the homemaker's opinion, about family income. Seventy-six per cent of the whites were classified as high in income, for the purposes of this research, while only 64 per cent of the homemakers considered their family income satisfactory. The corresponding figures for Indians are 47 per cent and 42 per cent respectively, and for Negroes the figures are 7 per cent and 12 per cent. Basically the homemakers seem to be relatively objective in their assessment of their family income. As in previous instances the Indians and Negroes do not compare favorably to the whites.

The analysis of these variables indicate that there are inequalities among the ethnic groups when comparing them with respect to items such as education, income, level of living, etc. These adjustment related variables, when analyzed, tend to lend support for the caste system hypothesis, with the Lumbees occuppying the intermediate position.

However, some of the other variables analyzed do not support the main hypothesis. The analysis of education does not support this hypothesis, nor does education of the homemaker. In fact there were fewer Indians who were classified as high in education than there were Negroes. This finding may point to differing cultural values among the ethnic groups and reflect a lack of adequate educational opportunities for Indians in this region, as pointed out in the historical background information (or it could be a function of the small sample size). Possibly Lumbees do not value education for women as much as for men. Among Negro families, it is not unusual to find matriarchal families where the female is in fact the head of the family and finds it easier to find employment. Negro women may have greater need of an education, than Negro males, and may value educational attainment more than Negro males do. In order to really comprehend the meaning of the findings more must be known about the cultural values of these ethnic groups. It would be wrong to assume that they all share a common value system.

Anomia is another variable which did not support the main hypothesis. Over one-half of the whites (56 per cent) scored high on anomia, and the Indians were even more anomic (65 per cent). Considering that the Negroes were worse off than whites or Indians in terms of "adjustment" related variables, such as level of living, it is strange

that only 22 per cent of the Negroes scored high on the anomia scale. The results suggest that Negroes are accepting an inferior position, as compared to whites while the Indians are not. The degree to which the Indians are frustrated, even though they are often classified as better off than Negroes, is only hinted at by this analysis. Table 33 indicates that during the five years between 1961 and 1966, whites and Indians tended to become more pessimistic while Negroes tended to become more optimistic. The comparative optimism of Negroes may reflect the general lessening of the discrimination against Negro males has been occurring nationwide during recent years. All of these groups must have been exposed to the mass media and the differing reactions as indicated on the anomia scale, to changes in their perceived environment may be a result of differing expectations for the future. There are no large scale mass movements, no demonstrations aimed at the betterment of the lives of rural whites or Lumbees. The Indians may be more anomic than whites because they are worse off than whites educationally, economically, and socially, and yet the recent advances in civil rights legislation cannot apply to the Lumbees who disavow any relatedness to Negroes as a race. The Indians may feel quite isolated in this respect as there would be no organized resistance, with which they could identify, against a social system that discriminates against nonwhites.

The analysis of home tenure does not support the main hypothesis. There are more Negro than Indian home owners. This result could not be a function of income because Negroes tend to have lower incomes than Indians. Again, cultural differences may account for this finding. Negroes may adhere more to the cultural value of home ownership than do Indians who traditionally have worked at maintaining a separate identity.

Those people in Robeson County who do not own their own homes may be more likely to be tenant farmers growing tobacco and other cash crops. If the Lumbees have traditionally been tenant farmers, this would explain why home tenure does not support the main hypothesis. This is one of the few material items which does not support the main hypothesis.

The main hypothesis is not supported by social participation. Most of the variation in social participation is explained by differences in education. It was found that Negroes participate more, not less than Indians. This suggests that the Indians may be unwilling to participate socially with Negroes and encounter discrimination from whites and thus remain isolated, participating socially less than the other ethnic groups. Before this could be verified more would have to be known about the nature of social interaction in Robeson County than can be found from the existing data. For instance, it could be that, to the

degree that members do associate it, is with members of their own ethnic group, in which case instances of discrimination against them are kept to a minimum. It is probable that much social participation in Robeson County involves contacts with the dominant while, who would hold advantageous positions in groups, agencies, voluntary association, etc.

Although the Lumbees participate the least, their felt need to participate is greater than that of either whites or Negroes. This finding points to a frustrated need on the part of the Lumbees who evidently feel that it is to their advantage to participate more, but who for some reason cannot or will not do so. An analysis of this variable shows that education explains more of the variation than does ethnic group but 40 per cent of the Indians did express a felt need to participate. The data indicate that the Indians are inhibited in their desire to socially participate but the psychological mechanisms involved remain unclear.

Voter registration does not support the main hypothesis although year first registered to vote did (voter registration differences reflect differences in education since education explained most of the variance) actually the direction of the relationship would have supported the main hypothesis had the chi-square for voter registration by ethnicity been statistically significant. This is one

of several variables which point to the importance of education in explaining differences among the ethnic groups.

Examination of the head's opinion about family income revealed that the main hypothesis was again unsupported. Neither the Indians nor the Negroes were satisfied with their incomes as compared with the whites. The Indians were the most dissatisfied even though their incomes were somewhat higher than the incomes of Negroes. This suggests frustration based on differential expectations. The Indians have more than the Negroes but expect more than they are getting. Whites on the other hand were comparatively satisfied (70 per cent). This trend toward dissatisfaction and pessimism is the typical response of the Lumbees on attitude or opinion type questions, according to the findings of this study. However, they had become more satisfied with their living conditions over the five year period from 1961 to 1966. This finding is supportive of their relative advantageous position, as compared to Negroes, on items such as income and level of living.

Credit buying could account for the fact that the Lumbees are becoming more satisfied with their living conditions while dissatisfied with their incomes.

Analysis of the head's opinion about borrowing money showed that this variable did not support the central hypothesis due to the fact that all of the ethnic groups favored borrowing money. Evidently the influences of

the greater consumer-credit society have had such an impact, perhaps through the mass media, that everyone, no matter what his ethnic group, favored borrowing money. Those who were classified as higher in education favored borrowing money more, while those with less education were not as much in favor of borrowing money. However, 73 per cent to 79 per cent of all respondents, regardless of education or ethnic group did favor borrowing money. This comparatively high degree of concurrence regarding this particular variable suggests that borrowing money is a highly valued option in Robeson County as it is elsewhere, perhaps as a function of perceived economic necessity. The high degree of agreement makes borrowing money a poor variable for distinguishing among the three ethnic groups.

There were a number of variables which were not statistically significant and which are therefore of no value in studying differences among these ethnic groups. These nonrelevant variables are family size, residence type, job change and homemaker's opinion about living conditions. In the cases of some or even all, of these variables the lack of statistical significance could be indicative of real similarities among the groups with respect to their life circumstances in a rural farm area. Or the lack of statistical significance may be due to the small sample size.

Looking again at those variables which were statistically significant, we see that there are five variables,

the analysis of which support the main hypothesis. There are nine variables which do not support the hypothesis. On the basis of these data it can be asserted that certain of the variables show at least nominal support of the caste system hypothesis. However, the data are certainly not overwhelmingly in support of this notion. Most of those variables that are in support of the hypothesis are more concrete indicators, such as the amount of education, income, number of material possessions and communication items. The caste system hypothesis is supported more in terms of material culture. The homemaker's opinion about income is the only psychological indicator which supports the hypothesis, and this is an opinion about a material item.

Conversely those variables which do not support the hypothesis deal with less concrete matters, such as anomia, social participation, felt need to participate, voter registration, head's opinion about family income, and homemaker's opinion about borrowing money. The main hypothesis is unsupported in terms of nonmaterial culture, including psychological status, and behavior related to attitude and opinions. Of course, this dichotomy does not hold true in all cases, it is merely a trend observed in the data.

When looking at this dichotomy in light of the Indians position, relative to whites and Negroes, the matter becomes more clear.

Approximately one-half of the white heads are classified as low in education, as compared to 70 per cent of the Indians and 87 per cent of the Negroes (Table 25). Only 24 per cent of the whites are classified as low in income, whereas 53 per cent of the Indians and 93 per cent of the Negroes are low in income (Table 35). Eighty-six per cent of the whites are high in material possessions, while only one-half of the Indians and one-fifth of the Negroes are so rated (Table 43). Generally, on those variables supporting the hypothesis, while the Indians are better-off than Negroes, the nonwhites taken together do not compare very favorably with whites. Sometimes the whites themselves are not very well off but the conditions for the Indians and Negroes are usually considerably worse, as indicated several times in the results section.

Looking at those variables which do not support the hypothesis we see that over one-half of the whites (57 per cent) are high in education as compared to only 22 per cent of the Indians and 21 per cent of the Negroes (Table 24). Here again the nonwhites are similar and do not compare favorably to whites.

The aforementioned relations do not hold on the psychological variables however. An anomia for example the Indians scored even higher than whites; 65 per cent as compared to 56 per cent of whites. Indians and whites compare favorably to the Negroes of whom only 22 per cent were high in anomia (Table 30).

In the case of home tenure the whites compare very favorably with 76 per cent owning their own homes while only 20 per cent of the Indians and 31 per cent of the Negroes owning their own homes. Seventy-six per cent of the whites own their homes, and 79 per cent of the nonwhites do not (Table 39).

The chi-square for ethnicity by social participation was not statistically significant but felt need to participate was significant and again Indians compared more favorably to whites than to Negroes. Forty per cent of the Indians felt a need to participate, and 21 per cent of the whites felt such a need as compared to only 7 per cent of the Negroes (Table 66).

Concerning the head's opinion about family income, 71 per cent of the whites were satisfied with their incomes, but only 14 per cent of the Indians and 21 per cent of the Negroes were satisfied. This means that 66 per cent of the nonwhites were dissatisfied with their incomes.

The analysis of these data suggest that instead of dividing the data into those variables which do or do not support the hypothesis, a more helpful division is between those variables on which the Lumbees are more similar to whites or more similar to Negroes. It may be observed from the data that nonwhites, as compared to whites, tend to be classified as low on the score material indictors of adjustment, while the Indians tend to be classified more

like the whites on the psychological kinds of indicators. In those cases where a change over a five year period was measured, the Indians tended to change in the direction of whites but not in all cases. The Indians tended to be highly isolated and pessimistic in their attitudes. They seem especially dissatisfied with their standard of living.

The findings, while they do not specifically support the caste system hypothesis proposed at the outset of this paper, are compatible with the basic theoretical orientation.

The Lumbees may have internalized the attitudes and values of the dominant white culture. This would mean having the whites as a reference group, and rejecting the inferior status resulting from their being considered non-white. Their pessimism would be related to their frustration in not being able to achieve the kind of prestige and standard of living attained by whites. Their inferior position with respect to education, income, home ownership, material possessions, etc., would be indicative of their failure to achieve a status much higher than Negroes in the region. This would lead to feelings of pessimism, anomia and general dissatisfaction which seems to characterize the Indians more so than any other ethnic group in Robeson County.

The effects of discrimination can be seen when studying the material indicators utilized in this analysis.

The nonwhites are in a relatively inferior position. The major difference between the Indians and Negroes, in this respect, is that the Negroes seem more optimistic in spite of their inferior position. In other words the Negroes seem to have accepted their inferior status. However, if the psychological variables in this study are representative of the attitudes of the Lumbees, they have not accepted their inferior status. They have not accommodated to the whites. Instead, their reaction has been to become isolated and dissatisfied with their life circumstances, even though they are better off than Negroes, in those cases where the main hypothesis was supported.

The hypothesis that there is a caste system in Robeson County in which the Lumbees occupy the intermediate position is only partially supported by this study. The assertion is plausable but cannot be assumed in the light of these findings. In many ways the traditional bi-racial (white-nonwhite) caste system which typifies the rural South, is still an accurate means of describing the social stratification system of Robeson County. The unusual aspect of the social system in this area, aside from the history of the Lumbees, is the reaction these Indians have to the discriminatory practices inherent in the social system. While the Negroes seemingly accept an inferior social status, the Lumbees do not. Their status in the community is not secure. They are not whites but they

are not Negroes. Their position is perhaps somewhat marginal, and their psychological reactions seem to reflect this tenuous position.

Instead of trying to explain such a social stratification system in terms of the bi-racial caste system, i.e., ignoring the identity of the Indians, or in terms of the originally proposed tri-ethnic system, a more elaborate model is needed. This model would have to take into account both the material and nonmaterial aspects of the ethnic subcultures. Only in this way can the nature of these inter ethnic group relations be adequately understood.

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APPENDICES

Appendix A

ANALYTICAL TABLES

Table 24. Ethnicity by educational level of the head and homemaker, 1966

Educational Level of Head and Homemaker	Ethnic Group			Total
	Whites	Indians	Negroes	
High (8-16 years)	36 [a] (24.5) [b]	8 (13.6)	7 (12.8)	51
Low (0-6 years)	27 (38.5)	27 (21.4)	26 (20.2)	80
Total	63	35	33	131

$X^2 = 16.89$ d.f. = 2 $p < .05$ Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

NULL HYPOTHESIS: There is no relation between education and ethnicity of the family heads.

Table 25. Ethnicity by educational level of head, 1966

Educational Level of the Head	Ethnic Group			Total
	Whites	Indians	Negroes	
High (8-16 years)	15 [a] (10.6) [b]	5 (5.7)	2 (5.7)	22
Low (0-7 years)	15 (19.4)	11 (10.3)	14 (10.3)	40
Total	30	16	16	62

$X^2 = 6.6$ d.f. = 2 $p < .05$ Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

NULL HYPOTHESIS: There is no relation between education and ethnicity of the family homemakers.

Table 26. Ethnicity by educational level of homemaker, 1966

Educational Level of the Homemaker	Ethnic Group			Total
	Whites	Indians	Negroes	
High (8-16 years)	21 [a] (13.9) [b]	3 (8)	5 (7.1)	29
Low (0-7 years)	12 (19.1)	16 (11)	12 (9.9)	40
Total	33	19	17	69

$X^2 = 12.5$ d.f. = 2 $p < .05$ Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

NULL HYPOTHESIS: There is no relationship among family size, ethnicity and education of the head.

Table 27. Ethnicity by family size and educational level of head, 1966

Family Size	Ethnic Group and Education						Total
	Whites		Indians		Negroes		
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	
	Years (8-16)	Years (0-7)					
Large (4-11 persons)	9 [a] (5.4) [b]	3 (8.8)	2 (2.3)	6 (3.7)	2 (2.7)	5 (4.4)	27
Small (1-3 persons)	7 (6.1)	11 (9.9)	2 (2.6)	3 (4.2)	0 (3)	8 (4.9)	31
Total	16	14	4	9	2	13	58

$X^2 = 13.64$ d.f. = 7 $p > .05$ Not Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

NULL HYPOTHESIS: There is no relationship among residence type, ethnicity and education of the head.

Table 28. Ethnicity by residence type and educational level of head, 1966

Residence Type	Ethnic Group and Education						Total
	Whites		Indians		Negroes		
	High Years (8-16)	Low (0-7)	High	Low	High	Low	
Rural Farm	10[a] (6.2)[b]	11 (11)	3 (3.4)	5 (6)	1 (3.4)	6 (6)	36
Rural Non farm	5 (4.3)	3 (7.7)	2 (2.3)	6 (4.2)	1 (2.3)	8 (4.2)	25
Total	15	14	5	11	2	14	61

$X^2 = 12.20$ d.f. = 7 $p > .05$ Not Significant

[a]Observed frequency

[b]Expected frequency

NULL HYPOTHESIS: There is no relationship among anomia, ethnicity and education of head and homemaker.

Table 29. Ethnicity by anomia and educational level of head and homemaker, 1966

Anomia	Ethnic Group and Education						Total
	Whites		Indians		Negroes		
	High Years (8-16)	Low (0-7)	High	Low	High	Low	
High (0)	14[a] (12.6)[b]	20 (19.6)	3 (6.4)	17 (10.0)	4 (6.7)	8 (10.4)	66
Low (1-6)	21 (11.1)	6 (17.4)	3 (5.7)	8 (8.9)	3 (5.9)	17 (9.2)	58
Total	35	26	6	25	7	25	124

$X^2 = 34.32$ d.f. = 7 $p < .05$ Significant

[a]Observed frequency

[b]Expected frequency

Table 30. Ethnicity by anomia

Anomia	Ethnic Group			Total
	Whites	Indians	Negroes	
High (0)	34 [a] (32.5) [b]	20 (16.5)	12 (17)	66
Low (1-6)	27 (28.5)	11 (14.5)	20 (15)	58
Total	61	31	32	124

$X^2 = 4.87$ d.f. = 2 $p > .05$ Not Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

Table 31. Educational level of head and homemaker, 1966, by anomia

Anomia	Education		Total
	High (8-16 years)	Low (0-7 years)	
High (0)	21 [a] (25.6) [b]	45 (40.4)	66
Low (1-6)	27 (22.4)	31 (35.6)	58
Total	48	76	124

$X^2 = 2.88$ d.f. = 1 $p > .05$ Not Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

Table 32. Ethnicity by educational level of head and homemaker, 1966

Educational Level of Head and Homemaker	Ethnic Group			Total
	Whites	Indians	Negroes	
High (8-16 years)	35[a] (23.6)[b]	6 (12)	7 (12.4)	48
Low (0-7 years)	26 (37.4)	25 (19)	25 (19.6)	76
Total	61	31	32	124

$X^2 = 17.71$ d.f. = 2 $p < .05$ Significant

[a]Observed frequency

[b]Expected frequency

Table 33. Ethnicity by attitude change, with respect to anomia, 1961 to 1966

	1966							
	White		Indian		Negro		Total	
	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
1961 (Optimistic) +	15		11		5		31	
(Pessimistic) -		9		4		11		24

Whites: $X_2^2 = 1.04$ d.f. = 1 $p > .05$*
Indians: $X_2^2 = 2.40$ d.f. = 1 $p > .05$*
Negroes: $X_2^2 = 1.56$ d.f. = 1 $p > .05$*
Total: $X^2 = 0.65$ d.f. = 1 $p > .05$*

Note: No change for Whites = 39
Indians = 23
Negroes = 17
Total = 79
N = 134

*Not Significant.

NULL HYPOTHESIS: There is no relationship among income level, ethnicity and education of the head.

Table 34. Ethnicity by income level and educational level of head, 1966

Income Level	Ethnic Group and Education						Total
	Whites		Indians		Negroes		
	High (8-16 Years)	Low (0-7 Years)	High	Low	High	Low	
High ($2,000-up)	12 [a] (4.6) [b]	8 (8.5)	3 (2.6)	4 (4.8)	0 (2.8)	1 (5.2)	28
Low ($0-1,999)	1 (4.6)	5 (8.5)	2 (2.6)	6 (4.8)	2 (2.8)	13 (5.2)	29
Total	13	13	5	10	2	14	57

$X^2 = 34.80$ d.f. = 7 $p < .05$ Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

Table 35. Ethnicity by income level

Income Level	Ethnic Group			Total
	Whites	Indians	Negroes	
High ($2,000-up)	20 [a] (12.8) [b]	7 (7.4)	1 (7.9)	28
Low ($0-1,999)	6 (13.2)	8 (7.6)	15 (8.1)	29
Total	26	15	16	57

$X^2 = 19.92$ d.f. = 2 $p < .05$ Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

Table 36. Educational level of head, 1966 by income level

Income Level	Education		Total
	High (8-16 years)	Low (0-7 years)	
High ($2,000-up)	15 [a] (9.8) [b]	13 (18.2)	28
Low ($0-1,999)	5 (10.2)	24 (18.8)	29
Total	20	37	57

$X^2 = 8.34$ d.f. = 1 $p < .05$ Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

Table 37. Ethnicity by educational level of head, 1966

Educational Level of the Head	Ethnic Group			Total
	Whites	Indians	Negroes	
High (8-16 years)	13 [a] (4.1) [b]	5 (5.3)	2 (5.6)	20
Low (0-7 years)	13 (16.9)	10 (9.7)	14 (10.4)	37
Total	26	15	16	57

$X^2 = 6.16$ d.f. = 2 $p < .05$ Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

NULL HYPOTHESIS: There is no relationship among home tenure, ethnicity and education of the head.

Table 38. Ethnicity by home tenure and educational level of head, 1966

Home Tenure	Ethnic Group and Education						Total
	Whites		Indians		Negroes		
	High (8-16 Years)	Low (0-7 Years)	High	Low	High	Low	
Own	10 [a] (4.6) [b]	10 (8.5)	2 (2.6)	1 (4.8)	1 (2.8)	4 (5.2)	28
Rent	3 (4.6)	3 (8.5)	3 (2.6)	9 (4.8)	1 (2.8)	10 (5.2)	29
Total	13	13	5	10	2	14	57

$X^2 = 24.80$ d.f. = 7 $p < .05$ Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

Table 39. Ethnicity by home tenure

Home Tenure	Ethnic Group			Total
	Whites	Indians	Negroes	
Own	20 [a] (12.8) [b]	3 (7.4)	5 (7.9)	28
Rent	6 (13.2)	12 (7.6)	11 (8.1)	29
Total	26	15	16	57

$X^2 = 15.25$ d.f. = 2 $p < .05$ Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

Table 40. Educational level of head, 1966, by home tenure

Home Tenure	Education: High (8-16 years)	Education: Low (0-7 years)	Total
Own	13 [a] (9.8) [b]	15 (18.2)	28
Rent	7 (10.2)	22 (18.8)	29
Total	20	37	57

$X^2 = 3.15$ d.f. = 1 $p > .05$ Not Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

Table 41. Ethnicity by educational level of head, 1966

Educational Level of Head	Ethnic Group: Whites	Ethnic Group: Indians	Ethnic Group: Negroes	Total
High (8-16 years)	13 [a] (9.1) [b]	5 (5.3)	2 (5.6)	20
Low (0-7 years)	13 (16.9)	10 (9.7)	14 (10.4)	37
Total	26	15	16	57

$X^2 = 6.16$ d.f. = 2 $p < .05$ Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

NULL HYPOTHESIS: There is no relationship among material possessions, ethnicity and educational level of the head

Table 42. Ethnicity by material possessions and educational level of head, 1966

Material Possessions	Ethnic Group and Education						Total
	Whites		Indians		Negroes		
	High (8-16 Years)	Low (0-7 Years)	High	Low	High	Low	
High (5-6)	13 [a] (5.9) [b]	11 (10.9)	2 (2.5)	4 (4.7)	1 (3.2)	2 (5.8)	33
Low (0-4)	1 (3.9)	3 (7.3)	1 (7.3)	5 (1.7)	1 (3.1)	11 (3.9)	22
Total	14	14	3	9	2	13	55

$X^2 = 32.40$ d.f. = 7 $p < .05$ Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

Table 43. Ethnicity by material possessions

Material Possessions	Ethnic Group			Total
	Whites	Indians	Negroes	
High (5-6)	24 [a] (16.8) [b]	6 (7.2)	3 (9)	33
Low (0-4)	4 (11.2)	6 (4.8)	12 (6)	22
Total	28	12	15	55

$X^2 = 18.22$ d.f. = 2 $p < .05$ Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

Table 44. Educational level of head, 1966, by material possessions

Material Possessions	Education		Total
	High (8-16 years)	Low (0-7 years)	
High (5-6)	16 [a] (11.4) [b]	17 (21.6)	33
Low (0-4)	3 (7.6)	19 (14.4)	22
Total	19	36	55

$X^2 = 7.09$ d.f. = 1 $p < .05$ Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

Table 45. Ethnicity by educational level of head, 1966

Educational Level of Head	Ethnic Group			Total
	Whites	Indians	Negroes	
High (8-16 years)	14 [a] (9.7) [b]	3 (4.1)	2 (5.2)	19
Low (0-7 years)	14 (18.3)	9 (7.9)	13 (9.8)	36
Total	28	12	15	55

$X^2 = 6.37$ d.f. = 2 $p < .05$ Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

Table 46. Ethnicity by change in number of material possessions owned, 1961 to 1966

		1966							
		White		Indian		Negro		Total	
		-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
1961									
(More Items)	+	1		1		3		3	
(Less Items)	-		13		8		9		30

Whites: $X_2^2 = 8.64$ d.f. = 1 $p < .05$*
Indians: $X_2^2 = 4.00$ d.f. = 1 $p < .05$**
Negroes: $X_2^2 = 4.90$ d.f. = 1 $p < .05$**
Total: $X^2 = 20.40$ d.f. = 1 $p < .05$*

Note: No change for Whites = 19
Indians = 6
Negroes = 6
Total = 31
N = 64

**Not Significant.
*Significant.

Table 47. Ethnicity by change in number of communication items owned, 1961 to 1966

		1966							
		White		Indian		Negro		Total	
		-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
1961									
(More Items)	+	3		4		2		9	
(Less Items)	-		15		5		5		25

Whites: $X_2^2 = 6.72$ d.f. = 1 $p < .05$*
Indians: $X_2^2 = 0.00$ d.f. = 1 $p > .05$*
Negroes: $X_2^2 = 0.57$ d.f. = 1 $p > .05$*
Total: $X^2 = 6.61$ d.f. = 1 $p < .05$*

Note: No change for Whites = 15
Indians = 6
Negroes = 9
Total = 30
N = 64

*Not Significant.

NULL HYPOTHESIS: There is no relationship among communications, ethnicity and educational level of the head.

Table 48. Ethnicity by communications and educational level of head, 1966

Communications Items	Ethnic Group and Education						Total
	Whites		Indians		Negroes		
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	
	Years						
	(8-16)	(0-7)					
High (5-6)	11 [a] (4.8) [b]	10 (8.9)	1 (2.1)	2 (3.8)	1 (2.6)	2 (4.7)	27
Low (0-4)	3 (5)	4 (9.3)	2 (2.2)	7 (4)	1 (2.7)	11 (4.9)	28
Total	14	14	3	9	2	13	55

$X^2 = 26.86$ d.f. = 7 $p < .05$ Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

Table 49. Ethnicity by communications

Communications Items	Ethnic Group			Total
	Whites	Indians	Negroes	
High (5-6)	21 [a] (13.7) [b]	3 (5.9)	3 (7.4)	27
Low (0-4)	7 (14.3)	9 (6.1)	12 (7.6)	28
Total	28	12	15	55

$X^2 = 15.59$ d.f. = 2 $p < .05$ Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

Table 50. Educational level of head, 1966, by communications

Communications Items	Education		Total
	High (8-16 years)	Low (0-7 years)	
High (5-6)	13 [a] (9.3) [b]	14 (17.7)	27
Low (0-4)	6 (9.7)	22 (18.3)	28
Total	19	36	55

$X^2 = 4.40$ d.f. = 1 $p < .05$ Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

Table 51. Ethnicity by educational level of head, 1966

Educational Level of Head	Ethnic Group			Total
	Whites	Indians	Negroes	
High (8-16 years)	14 [a] (9.7) [b]	3 (4.1)	2 (5.2)	19
Low (0-7 years)	14 (18.3)	9 (7.9)	13 (9.8)	36
Total	28	12	15	55

$X^2 = 6.37$ d.f. = 2 $p < .05$ Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

NULL HYPOTHESIS: There is no relationship among social participation, ethnicity and educational level of the homemaker.

Table 52. Ethnicity by social participation and educational level of homemaker, 1966

Social Participation	Ethnic Group: Whites High Years (8-16)	Whites Low Years (0-7)	Indians High	Indians Low	Negroes High	Negroes Low	Total
High (6-25)	15 [a] (8.4) [b]	3 (10.3)	2 (3.7)	7 (4.5)	3 (4.0)	6 (4.9)	36
Low (0-5)	6 (6.6)	9 (8.1)	1 (2.9)	5 (3.6)	2 (3.2)	5 (3.9)	28
Total	21	12	3	12	5	11	64

$X^2 = 15.64$ d.f. = 7 $p < .05$ Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

Table 53. Ethnicity by social participation

Social Participation	Ethnic Group: Whites	Indians	Negroes	Total
High (6-25)	18 [a] (18.6) [b]	9 (8.4)	9 (9.0)	36
Low (0-5)	15 (14.4)	6 (6.6)	7 (7.0)	28
Total	33	15	16	64

$X^2 = 0.15$ d.f. = 2 $p > .05$ Not Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

Table 54. Educational level of homemaker, 1966, by social participation

Social Participation	Education		Total
	High (8-16 years)	Low (0-7 years)	
High (6-25)	20 [a] (16.3) [b]	16 (19.7)	36
Low (0-5)	9 (12.7)	19 (15.3)	28
Total	29	35	64

$X^2 = 3.50$ d.f. = 1 $p > .05$ Not Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

Table 55. Ethnicity by educational level of homemaker, 1966

Educational Level of Homemaker	Ethnic Group			Total
	Whites	Indians	Negroes	
High (8-16 years)	21 [a] (15) [b]	3 (6.8)	5 (7.3)	29
Low (0-7 years)	12 (18)	12 (8.2)	11 (8.7)	35
Total	33	15	16	64

$X^2 = 9.46$ d.f. = 2 $p < .05$ Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

NULL HYPOTHESIS: There is no relationship among job change, ethnicity and educational level of head.

Table 56. Ethnicity by job change and educational level of head, 1966

Job Change	Ethnic Group and Education						Total
	Whites		Indians		Negroes		
	High (8-16) Years	Low (0-7)	High	Low	High	Low	
Yes	7 (4.6)[a,b]	6 (7.8)	1 (2.4)	5 (4.1)	1 (2.6)	6 (4.4)	26
No	8 (6.1)	8 (10.3)	4 (3.2)	5 (5.4)	1 (3.4)	8 (5.8)	34
Total	15	14	5	10	2	14	60

$X^2 = 8.61$ d.f. = 7 $p > .05$ Not Significant

[a]Observed frequency

[b]Expected frequency

NULL HYPOTHESIS: There is no relationship among voting registration, ethnicity and educational level of homemaker.

Table 57. Ethnicity by voting registration and educational level of homemaker, 1966

Voting Registration	Ethnic Group and Education						Total
	Whites		Indians		Negroes		
	High (8-16) Years	Low (0-7)	High	Low	High	Low	
Yes	19 (9.8)[a,b]	8 (13.5)	1 (4.7)	9 (6.5)	3 (4.3)	5 (6)	45
No	2 (4.2)	4 (5.8)	1 (2)	5 (2.8)	1 (1.9)	6 (2.6)	19
Total	21	12	2	14	4	11	65

$X^2 = 24.03$ d.f. = 7 $p < .05$ Significant

[a]Observed frequency

[b]Expected frequency

Table 58. Ethnicity by voting registration

Voting Registration	Ethnic Group			Total
	Whites	Indians	Negroes	
Yes	27 [a] (23.2) [b]	10 (11.2)	8 (10.5)	45
No	6 (9.8)	6 (4.8)	7 (4.5)	19
Total	33	16	15	64

$X^2 = 4.37$ d.f. = 2 $p > .05$ Not Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

Table 59. Educational level of homemaker, 1966, by voting registration

Voting Resgistration	Education		Total
	High (8-16 years)	Low (0-7 years)	
Yes	23 [a] (19) [b]	22 (26)	45
No	4 (8)	15 (11)	19
Total	27	37	64

$X^2 = 4.90$ d.f. = 1 $p < .05$ Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

Table 60. Ethnicity by educational level of homemaker, 1966

Educational Level of Homemaker	Ethnic Group			Total
	Whites	Indians	Negroes	
High (8-16 years)	21 [a] (13.9) [b]	2 (6.7)	4 (6.3)	27
Low (0-7 years)	12 (19.1)	14 (9.3)	11 (8.7)	37
Total	33	16	15	64

$X^2 = 13.39$ d.f. = 2 $p < .05$ Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

NULL HYPOTHESIS: There is no relationship among year first registered to vote, ethnicity and educational level of homemaker.

Table 61. Ethnicity by year first registered to vote and educational level of homemaker, 1966

Year First Registered to Vote	Ethnic Group and Education						Total
	Whites		Indians		Negroes		
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	
	Years (8-16)	Years (0-7)					
Before 1964	18 [a] (10.4) [b]	9 (9.6)	1 (3.9)	6 (3.6)	1 (3.4)	1 (3.1)	34
1964 and After	1 (3.7)	1 (3.4)	0 (1.4)	3 (1.3)	3 (1.2)	4 (1.1)	12
Total	19	8	1	9	4	5	46

$X^2 = 30.65$ d.f. = 7 $p < .05$ Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

Table 62. Ethnicity by year first registered to vote

Year First Registered To Vote	Ethnic Group			Total
	Whites	Indians	Negroes	
Before 1964	25 [a] (20) [b]	7 (7.4)	2 (6.7)	34
1964 and After	2 (7)	3 (2.6)	7 (2.3)	12
Total	27	10	9	46

$X^2 = 16.92$ d.f. = 2 $p < .05$ Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

Table 63. Educational level of homemaker, 1966, by year first registered to vote

Year First Registered to Vote	Education		Total
	High (8-16 years)	Low (0-7 years)	
Before 1964	20 [a] (17.7) [b]	14 (16.3)	34
1964 and After	4 (6.3)	8 (5.7)	12
Total	24	22	46

$X^2 = 2.40$ d.f. = 1 $p > .05$ Not Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

Table 64. Ethnicity by educational level of homemaker, 1966

Educational Level of Homemaker	Ethnic Group			Total
	Whites	Indians	Negroes	
High (8-16 years)	19 [a] (14.1) [b]	1 (5.2)	4 (4.7)	24
Low (0-7 years)	8 (12.9)	9 (4.8)	5 (4.3)	22
Total	27	10	9	46

$X^2 = 10.84$ d.f. = 2 $p < .05$ Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

NULL HYPOTHESIS: There is no relationship among felt need to participate, ethnicity and educational level of homemaker.

Table 65. Ethnicity by felt need to participate and educational level of homemaker, 1966

Felt Need to Participate	Ethnic Group and Education						Total
	Whites		Indians		Negroes		
	High (8-16 Years)	Low (0-7 Years)	High	Low	High	Low	
Yes	5 [a] (3.3) [b]	2 (3.9)	2 (1.5)	4 (1.8)	0 (1.5)	1 (1.8)	14
No	16 (11.8)	10 (13.8)	1 (5.4)	8 (6.4)	5 (5.4)	9 (6.4)	49
Total	21	12	3	12	5	10	

$X^2 = 14.16$ d.f. = 7 $p < .05$ Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

Table 66. Ethnicity by felt need to participate

Felt Need to Participate	Ethnic Group			Total
	Whites	Indians	Negroes	
Yes	7[a] (7.3)[b]	6 (3.3)	1 (3.3)	14
No	26 (25.7)	9 (11.7)	14 (11.7)	49
Total	33	15	15	63

$X^2 = 4.29$ d.f. = 2 $p > .05$ Not Significant

[a]Observed frequency

[b]Expected frequency

Table 67. Educational level of homemaker, 1966, by felt need to participate

Felt Need to Participate	Education		Total
	High (8-16 years)	Low (0-7 years)	
Yes	7[a] (6.4)[b]	7 (7.6)	14
No	22 (22.6)	27 (26.4)	49
Total	29	34	63

$X^2 = 0.14$ d.f. = 1 $p > .05$ Not Significant

[a]Observed frequency

[b]Expected frequency

Table 68. Ethnicity by educational level of homemaker, 1966

Educational Level of Homemaker	Ethnic Group			Total
	Whites	Indians	Negroes	
High (8-16 years)	21 [a] (15.2) [b]	3 (6.9)	5 (6.9)	29
Low (0-7 years)	12 (17.8)	12 (8.1)	10 (8.1)	34
Total	33	15	15	63

$X^2 = 9.15$ d.f. = 2 $p < .05$ Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

NULL HYPOTHESIS: There is no relationship among head's opinion about family income, ethnicity and educational level of head.

Table 69. Ethnicity by head's opinion about family income and educational level of head, 1966

Head's Opinion About Family Income	Ethnic Group and Education						Total
	Whites		Indians		Negroes		
	High (8-16)	Low (0-7)	High	Low	High	Low	
	Years						
Satisfactory	5 [a] (4) [b]	12 (7.2)	0 (2)	2 (3.5)	0 (1.9)	3 (3.4)	22
Unsatisfactory	9 (6)	2 (10.8)	4 (3)	8 (5.3)	2 (2.8)	8 (5.1)	33
Total	14	14	4	10	2	11	55

$X^2 = 20.30$ d.f. = 7 $p < .05$ Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

Table 70. Ethnicity by head's opinion about family income

Head's Opinion About Family Income	Ethnic Group			Total
	Whites	Indians	Negroes	
Satisfactory	17 [a] (11.2) [b]	2 (5.6)	3 (5.2)	22
Unsatisfactory	11 (16.8)	12 (8.4)	10 (7.8)	33
Total	28	14	13	55

$X^2 = 10.40$ d.f. = 2 $p < .05$ Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

Table 71. Educational level of head, 1966, by head's opinion about family income

Head's Opinion About Family Income	Education		Total
	High (8-16 years)	Low (0-7 years)	
Satisfactory	5 [a] (8) [b]	17 (14)	22
Unsatisfactory	15 (12)	18 (21)	33
Total	20	35	55

$X^2 = 2.95$ d.f. = 1 $p > .05$ Not Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

Table 72. Ethnicity by educational level of head, 1966

Educational Level of Head	Ethnic Group			Total
	Whites	Indians	Negores	
High (8-16 years)	14 [a] (10.2) [b]	4 (5.1)	2 (4.7)	20
Low (0-7 years)	14 (17.8)	10 (8.9)	11 (8.3)	35
Total	28	14	13	55

$X^2 = 5.04$ d.f. = 2 $p > .05$ Not Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

NULL HYPOTHESIS: There is no relationship among homemaker's opinion about family income, ethnicity and educational level of head.

Table 73. Ethnicity by homemaker's opinion about family income and educational level of homamaker, 1966

Homemaker's Opinion About Family Income	Ethnic Group and Education						Total
	Whites		Indians		Negroes		
	High (8-16)	Low (0-7)	High	Low	High	Low	
Satisfactory	12 [a] (6.3) [b]	9 (8.6)	1 (3.5)	7 (4.9)	0 (3.3)	2 (4.5)	31
Unsatisfactory	9 (7.6)	3 (10.6)	2 (4.3)	9 (5.9)	5 (4)	10 (5.5)	38
Total	21	12	3	16	5	12	69

$X^2 = 25.06$ d.f. = 7 $p < .05$ Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

Table 74. Ethnicity by homemaker's opinion about family income

Homemaker's Opinion About Family Income	Ethnic Group			Total
	Whites	Indians	Negroes	
Satisfactory	21 [a] (14.8) [b]	8 (8.5)	2 (7.6)	31
Unsatisfactory	12 (18.2)	11 (10.5)	15 (9.4)	38
Total	33	19	17	69

$X^2 = 12.23$ d.f. = 2 $p < .05$ Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

Table 75. Educational level of homemaker, 1966, by homemaker's opinion about family income

Homemaker's Opinion About Family Income	Education		Total
	High (8-16 years)	Low (0-7 years)	
Satisfactory	13 [a] (13) [b]	18 (18)	31
Unsatisfactory	16 (16)	22 (22)	38
Total	29	40	69

$X^2 = 0$ d.f. = 1 $p > .05$ Not Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

Table 76. Ethnicity by educational level of homemaker, 1966

Educational Level of Homemaker	Ethnic Group			Total
	Whites	Indians	Negroes	
High (8-16 years)	21[a] (13.9)[b]	3 (8)	5 (7.1)	29
Low (0-7 years)	12 (19.1)	16 (11)	12 (9.9)	40
Total	33	19	17	69

$X^2 = 12.74$ d.f. = 2 $p < .05$ Significant

[a]Observed frequency

[b]Expected frequency

NULL HYPOTHESIS: There is no relationship among homemaker's opinion about living conditions of family in 1966, ethnicity, and educational level of homemaker.

Table 77. Ethnicity by homemaker's opinion about living conditions of the family in 1966

Opinion About Living Conditions	Ethnic Group			Total
	Whites	Indians	Negroes	
Better Off	17[a] (19.1)[b]	10 (8.7)	10 (9.2)	37
Same	11 (8.8)	3 (4.0)	3 (4.2)	17
Worse Off	5 (5.2)	2 (2.3)	3 (2.5)	10
Total	33	15	16	64

$X^2 = 1.78$ d.f. = 4 $p > .05$ Not Significant

[a]Observed frequency

[b]Expected frequency

Table 78. Ethnicity by change in homemaker's opinion about living conditions, 1961 to 1966

	1966							
	White		Indian		Negro		Total	
	-	+	-	+	-	+	-	+
1961								
(Better Off) +	5		3		2		10	
(Worse Off) -		17		10		10		37

Whites: $X_2^2 = 5.50$ d.f. = 1 $p < .05$**
Indians: $X_2^2 = 2.77$ d.f. = 1 $p > .05$*
Negroes: $X_2^2 = 4.08$ d.f. = 1 $p < .05$**
Total: $X^2 = 14.38$ d.f. = 1 $p < .05$*

Note: No change for Whites = 11
Indians = 3
Negroes = 3
Total = 17
N = 64

**Not Significant
*Significant

NULL HYPOTHESIS: There is no relationship among homemaker's opinion about borrowing money in 1966, ethnicity and educational level of homemaker.

Table 79. Ethnicity by homemaker's opinion about borrowing money and educational level of homemaker, 1966

Homemaker's Opinion About Borrowing Money	Ethnic Group and Education						Total
	Whites		Indians		Negroes		
	High	Low	High	Low	High	Low	
	Years						
	(8-16)	(0-7)					
Yes	18 [a] (11.5) [b]	8 (14.1)	3 (5.1)	8 (6.2)	5 (5.5)	7 (6.8)	49
No	3 (3.5)	4 (4.2)	0 (1.5)	4 (1.9)	0 (1.7)	4 (2.0)	15
Total	21	12	3	12	5	11	64

$X^2 = 15.34$ d.f. = 7 $p < .05$ Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

Table 80. Ethnicity by homemaker's opinion about borrowing money

Homemaker's Opinion About Borrowing Money	Ethnic Group			Total
	Whites	Indians	Negroes	
Yes	26 [a] (25.3) [b]	11 (11.5)	12 (12.3)	49
No	7 (7.7)	4 (3.5)	4 (3.7)	15
Total	33	15	16	64

$X^2 = 0.20$ d.f. = 2 $p > .05$ Not Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

Table 81. Educational level of homemaker, 1966, by homemaker's opinion about borrowing money

Homemaker's Opinion About Borrowing Money	Education		Total
	High (8-16 years)	Low (0-7 years)	
Yes	26 [a] (22.2) [b]	23 (26.8)	49
No	3 (6.8)	12 (8.2)	15
Total	29	35	64

$X^2 = 5.07$ d.f. = 1 $p < .05$ Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

Table 82. Ethnicity by educational level of homemaker, 1966

Educational Level of Homemaker	Ethnic Group			Total
	Whites	Indians	Negroes	
High (8-16 years)	21 [a] (14.9) [b]	3 (6.8)	5 (7.2)	29
Low (0-7 years)	12 (18.1)	12 (8.2)	11 (8.8)	35
Total	33	15	16	64

$X^2 = 9.66$ d.f. = 2 $p < .05$ Significant

[a] Observed frequency

[b] Expected frequency

Appendix B

EXAMPLE OF DATA CARDS USED TO OPERATIONALIZE DATA

*
**

Robeson County
Data Cards S-61

1.____	20.____
2.____	21.____
3.____	22.____
4.____	23.____
5.____	24.____
6.____	25.____
7.____	26.____
8.____	27.____
9.____	28.____
10.____	29.____
11.____	30.____
12.____	31.____
13.____	32.____
14.____	33.____
15.____	34.____
16.____	35.____
17.____	36.____
18.____	37.____
19.____	

*Location of color code for ethnic groups; white for whites; red for Indians; black for Negroes.

**Location of identification number (schedule number as indicated on the fronts of the schedules.

Note: One card per household; head information is in column 1, homemaker information in column 2.

Appendix C

EXAMPLE OF INCOME INFORMATION CARD

Respondents were asked what was their income for the previous year and the interviewers showed them a card with income categories as follows:

1. $0 - 999
2. 1,000 - 1,999
3. 2,000 - 2,999
4. 3,000 - 3,999
5. 4,000 - 4,999
6. 5,000 - 5,999
7. 6,000 - 6,999
8. 7,000 - 7,999
9. 8,000 - 8,999
10. 9,000 - 9,999
11. 10,000 or more

(If 10,000 or more, determine within what $1,000 bracket the income falls, e.g., between 18,000 and 18,999, etc.)

Note: Responses were recorded by category number, not by actual income figure or category.

Appendix D

LEVEL OF LIVING INDEX

Computation of the level of living scores was done by Guttman scaling the following items owned or used by the family. Information about these items was obtained by asking respondents "Which of the following items do you own or receive?"

1. Mechanical refrigeration
2. Gas or electric range
3. Piped water
4. Bath or shower
5. Kitchen sink
6. Vacuum cleaner

There were 7 ideal scale types ranging from 0 - having none of the items, to 6 - having all of the items. Each household was judged as to which of the 7 ideal types most nearly approximated the particular items they indicated and the number of that ideal type was assigned to the household as its level of living score.

Appendix E

COMMUNICATIONS INDEX

Computation of the communication scores was done by Guttman scaling the following items owned or used by the family. Information about these items was obtained by asking the respondents "Which of the following items do you own or receive?"

1. Radio
2. Television
3. Automobile
4. Daily newspaper
5. Telephone
6. Weekly or monthly magazine

There were 7 ideal scale types ranging from 0 - having none of the items, to 6 - having all of the items. Each household was judged as to which of the 7 ideal types most nearly approximated the particular items they indicated and the number of that ideal type was assigned to the household as its communication score.

Appendix F

ANOMIA SCALE

A modification of the Srole anomia scale was used to obtain response as to the degree of alienation or pessimism. The respondents had six items read to them and were asked whether they agree or disagreed with these statements.

There were 6 ideal scale types ranging from 0 - agree with all items, to 6 disagree with all items. Each head and homemaker were judged as to which of the 6 ideal types most nearly approximated the particular responses given and the number of that ideal type was assigned to that person as his or her anomic score.

Possible responses were as follows:

Agree_____ Disagree_____ Don't know_____

"Don't know" was scored as if it were an agree response.

Appendix G

MODIFIED GUTTMAN SCALE

Modified Guttman Scale used in the computation of the level of living index, communication index, and anomia scale.

Ideal Types	Response: Have Item 6	5	4	3	2	1	Do Not Have Item 6	5	4	3	2	1	Items
6	X	X	X	X	X	X							
5		X	X	X	X	X	X						
4			X	X	X	X	X	X					
3				X	X	X	X	X	X				
2					X	X	X	X	X	X			
1						X	X	X	X	X	X		
0							X	X	X	X	X	X	

In the case of the anomia scale the scale was modified as follows:

Response: 7	4	1	2	6	5	7	4	1	2	6	5	Items

Note: An "X" indicates whether the respondent has or does not have (or agrees or disagrees with) the item, depending upon whether the X is under the item numbers to the left, or to the right of the vertical line.

Appendix H

SOCIAL PARTICIPATION INDEX

Homemakers were questioned as to their participation activities. They were asked about the groups and organizations attended by themselves and their spouses. Respondents were asked "Do you attend":

Farm organizations

Extension organizations

Civic clubs

Patriotic groups

Fraternal orders

Labor unions

P.T.A. - Parent Teachers Association

Church

Sunday school

Other church organizations

Others

Respondents were assigned a score of 1 for each organization indicated; a score of 2 if they attended 1/4 or more of the meetings; a score of 3 if they were an office or committee member. These scores were added: the composite scores of the head and homemaker were averaged to yield a participation score.